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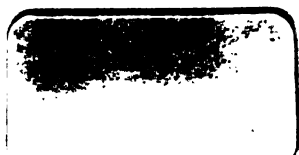
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PROCEEDINGS OF THE
CHICAGO CONFERENCE FOR
GOOD CITY GOVERNMENT AND THE
TENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

Held April 27, 28 and 29, 1904
at Chicago, Illinois

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CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF, EDITOR

PHILADELPHIA
NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE
1904

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PREFACE

The present volume of Proceedings adds materially to the sum total of the League's information and literature on the various phases of the municipal problem.

The several papers on the subject of uniform municipal accounting and statistics show not only the extent to which the League's schedules and work in this field have been availed of; and the experiences incident to their actual installation; but extend the careful consideration that has been given to this most important subject and prepare the ground for a volume, similar to "The Municipal Program," which will be at once a guide-book and a manual for all engaged in the study or administration of municipal affairs.

The review of "The Municipal Program" by Dr. Wilcox shows how useful that volume has been and how widely used. With each passing year the appreciation of its value increases, and this is true of each line of work which the League has taken up and furnishes the strongest argument for its continued support. There are many things of a spectacular character which might be taken up and a more brilliant though brief notoriety achieved, but the League has always preferred to build solidly and for the future. It is, therefore, both pleasing and encouraging to be able to record the fact that there is a growing appreciation of the substantial character of its contributions to the cause of municipal development and progress.

The series of papers on the always present and always pressing question of nomination reform constitutes a striking addition to the discussion of this subject. The papers are fundamental, striking at the very roots of the difficulty. There

may be difference of opinion as to the remedy proposed; there will be none as to the searching character of the analysis of the situation and its evils.

The training of the rising generation in civics, and more particularly in their duties as municipal citizens, receives a larger share of attention than previously. The Committee on Instruction in Municipal Government in American Educational Institutions (like that on Nomination Reform) is not as yet prepared to make a final report. Nor for that matter is that on Uniform Municipal Accounting. The very nature of the work of these Committees and of the careful methods which they have pursued makes a final report a matter of some years' study and effort. Moreover, the problem is not one that permits of hasty review or study. And the end the League has in view will not permit of superficial generalizations.

The general papers, as usual, deal with current phases and serve either to review progress, to bring a discussion up to date, to connect the past with the present consideration or to report upon some striking occurrence of the year.

This volume, as its predecessors, is put forth with a sincere desire that it may prove to be useful and helpful to that growing number of Americans who appreciate the duty and necessity of giving of their time and energy for the elevation of American municipalities, and for combating the forces which are always tending to corrupt and debase them.

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TENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE

AND

^{12th}
**ELEVENTH NATIONAL CONFERENCE
FOR GOOD GOVERNMENT**

HELD AT

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, April 27, 28 and 29, 1904

37584✓

WEDNESDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

APRIL 27, 1904, 2.30 P. M.

The opening session was called to order by Vice-President Charles Richardson, in the Assembly Hall of the Northwestern University Building, 87 Lake street, Chicago.

THE CHAIRMAN: The meeting will please come to order. Before we commence the regular business of the League, we are to have the pleasure of hearing from Mr. Alfred L. Baker, Vice-President of the City Club of Chicago. [Applause.]

MR. ALFRED L. BAKER: Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention: The esteemed President of our City Club is to-day unavoidably absent. It is for me then in his behalf, in behalf of our Club, and in behalf of all who desire good city government, to extend to you a most hearty and enthusiastic welcome. The work which the National Municipal League has been doing for ten long years, the work which to-day marks the beginning of another conference, is of a nature which is of a great deal more importance than many men appreciate or realize. The two most

Two Important Epochs. important epochs in our political lives were the adoption of the Constitution under Washington, and the preservation of the Union under Abraham Lincoln.

Next in importance to these great epochs is the present problem of right government for our cities. At the present rate of increase, another generation will indicate that one-half of the population of the United States will be located in our cities. The corruption and mismanagement of our largest cities occasioned the organization of societies in New York, Chicago and other large cities; your national

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organization is the result of many minds coming together and realizing the importance of something definite, and something national being done to remedy an evil, which if allowed to continue would be as disastrous even as the Civil War. You men who are patiently, modestly, perseveringly pursuing methods and reaching out for improvements in our local governments, are more patriotic and entitled to equal glory with the soldier who dashes up San Juan Hill, or undergoes the malarial dangers of the Philippine Islands, for the question of good government in our large cities is of vastly more moment to the future welfare of our country than any warlike victory.

For generations we have pointed to the older civilizations, saying that corruption and public immorality have been the cancer that has destroyed them. Unless we can solve the problem of good city government, unless New York City, Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, and St. Louis, or unless a *majority* of these great cities accomplish an honest democratic government, unless the citizens feel the importance of civic patriotism and civic virtue, republican institutions will become a failure. Our New England town meeting was the germ of all our ideas of political equality and self-government; the New England town meeting has been supplanted by the modern methods of city politics, and it is needless to point to history to prove that the decadence of previous civilizations originated in the corruption of the large cities. The numerous municipal associations which have been created in all our large cities, all tending towards one purpose, have been indicative for years of the great necessity for improvement. I might say there is no more strenuous work needed than this work of yours, gentlemen,—you who are assembled here to-day to begin your three days' conference on what can be done to secure better city government. Not alone on the war which prevented the dissolution of the Union, not alone on the questions which became so serious as to occasion civil strife, and ended in a firmer union of the United States,

but with equal emphasis will the future historian dwell

Making History. on those men who by their disinterested and patriotic actions reclaimed city government from the mire of corruption and inspired a feeling of civic pride and civic patriotism. The government of all our large cities will be referred to with the same pride as we now refer to the New England town meetings, where all men were peers and met on common ground to disinterestedly discuss and agree on local affairs. You gentlemen here are making history; the work which you do will eventually enter into the spirit of our institutions.

The City Club of Chicago and the citizens of Chicago wish you God-speed in your efforts. [Applause.]

THE CHAIRMAN: We will now have the pleasure of hearing from Dr. Howard S. Taylor on behalf of Mayor Harrison, of Chicago. [Applause.]

DR. TAYLOR: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I am sure it would have been a pronounced pleasure to the Mayor could he have been present in person this afternoon to have expressed his friendly salutations

to this organization and to have bid the visiting delegates from other municipalities in the country a hearty welcome to our city. He could not be here, however. I left him a few minutes ago, still working with a committee without having had any luncheon and having all day been strenuously engaged. By the bye, I may say by way of apology for myself as well as for the Mayor, that I have had no opportunity to make that preparation for even a short and formal address of welcome which the dignity and importance of this meeting entitle it to receive. Enough, however, to express on behalf of the Mayor and the municipal government in all the tongues of the forty-three different nationalities of Chicago, the good English word, "Welcome." You are heartily *welcome* to Chicago.

Now thus far having spoken for the Mayor, suffer me to say a few desultory and also unpremeditated words for myself. Having been a municipal reformer (unorganized) for a number of years, I have had some experience, and my experience leads me to entertain a very hearty sympathy for these delegates and for the purpose that has brought them together.

I take it that you meet together this afternoon, not in the spirit of pessimism that guided Macaulay's pen when he predicted the irruption of a new horde of Vandals and Huns who were to break out in the crowded purlieus of our great cities and again level civilization in the dust. You do not agree with the despairing forecast given by Wendell Phillips more than forty years ago when he predicted that the government of our great cities would not only be the greatest, but perhaps the most unsolvable, of all of our great problems. You are here rather with a hopeful belief that something can be done and will be done to make the government of our great cities as clean, orderly, as effectual and truthful as the government of any other part of the country. And in your conference together, doubtless the aspect of these great problems will become more and more definite in your minds. The younger ones of this assembly will find out gradually what the elder ones have already found out, that the work is a tedious one, that it is not to be accomplished by any sudden exuberation of mere warmth and enthusiasm; that Gerald Massey was voicing history when he said:

" 'Tis weary waiting, wave by wave,
Yet still the tides move onward.
We build like corals, grave by grave,
Yet beat a pathway sunward.
We're beaten back in many a fray,
Yet still new strength we borrow,
And where our vanguard rests to-day
Our rear shall rest to-morrow."

And you will discover in the course of your experience and the exchange of your opinions, another thing, that the great obstacles and difficulties to virtuous and effective government in our great cities do not rest wholly or even largely in the direction of mere municipal officials.

Underlying Conditions. You will discover that these difficulties are great underlying persistent conditions like geographical strata, fixed there invisibly and gradually a good while ago, and that no amount of official enthusiasm or official intelligence or probity or virtue can wholly satisfy and settle these conditions without considering means for altering the conditions themselves.

Let me give you an instance—and I talk mere truisms—there is the liquor traffic. (I am not pronouncing any opinion as to the method of remedying it) but all around the terraqueous globe, in every civilization that we know anything about, from the judiciary of all Europe as well as of America, it is agreed that about seventy-five per cent of all the pauperism and crime known to our statistics is the direct product of the drink traffic.

Let me give you another illustration. In this age of increasing tension between capital and labor it is observable—it is a well-known phenomenon, that the impingement of interest, the collision between the owner and his employe, is gradually approaching the acuteness and severity of a civil war all over the country. And therefore when you talk about clean municipal government and peace and order within municipal walls you have got to do it under the shadow of this great economic condition which is day after day and week after week becoming more observable, more emphatic and more pronounced.

Let me give you another illustration. With the growth of great corporations, and especially of corporations which are engaged in operating municipal utilities of various kinds—I am uttering no libel when I say it is a uniform phenomenon east and west and north and south, that just as these great interests become developed, just in that proportion juries and courts and city councils and legislatures have to endure that test spoken of by Philip of Macedon when he said that he could take any city through whose gates he could get a mule's load of gold. And I say, when you talk about municipal purity and municipal reform, you must discuss it in the light of that increasing development of capital engaged in operating public utilities. I have my own theory as to how that thing should be settled, a theory based not upon mere speculation or powers of prophecy, but upon the observed experience of the great municipalities of Europe. I believe that a very large part of our municipal problems, problems of pure municipal government, will disappear when our people shall once conclude to do what they are doing so efficiently in other parts of the world, operate public utilities for and by the public. [Applause.]

But I must not dilate upon topics that will engage your more mature

and more deliberate and better prepared councils hereafter. I am here merely to say on behalf of his Honor the Mayor, who for seven long years in a high official position has proven himself to be a substantial and real reformer in the city of Chicago, I am here upon his behalf to say to you once again, "Welcome," a hearty welcome. [Applause.]

THE CHAIRMAN: I am sure we all have a very grateful appreciation of the admirable and instructive address that we have just listened to. I for one am very glad to hear from a representative of Mayor Harrison. I know of no man in the United States who has had a better opportunity to learn all the phenomena of municipal government, of what it is, and what it ought to be, and what it can be made.

On behalf of the National Municipal League and its visiting members, I want to tender our sincere thanks for the kind invitations and welcome we have received from our hosts and friends and co-workers in Chicago.

The splendid work that has been done, and the triumphs that have been won by the intelligent citizens, officials and reform organizations of this city, have aroused the sympathies and the admiration of the advocates of honest government throughout the Union.

As no man can live unto himself alone, so no city can transact its business or perform its functions, without affecting for good or ill the corporate life and conduct of other cities, and we feel that the men who have been so bravely and so ably contending and are still contending, for purer and better government in Chicago, have in a larger sense been fighting our battles as well as their own. Their example and their successes have inspired us with new energies and new hopes for the conflicts in which we are engaged in other places.

We can say to the people of Chicago that we have come to you somewhat as the Queen of Sheba came to Solomon. As she desired to see with her own eyes the glories of the great king, so we wish to see and hear more of what you have accomplished in your strenuous warfare with corruption and inefficiency in your local government. And as the queen sought to prove the wisdom of Solomon with hard questions, so you may find that we have some problems for the solution of which we would be glad to have your aid and counsel.

The formation of this League in 1894 was due to the urgent necessity for more vigorous and effective action against the greedy and unscrupulous elements which exist in every community. These elements are common to all classes, the rich as well as the poor, and they will no doubt continue to deceive and exploit their fellow-citizens until humanity attains perfection and its selfishness and wickedness disappear in the dawn of the great millennium. Between these predatory elements and men of strict integrity and civic patriotism there is and always must be a state of civil war. Combinations of the bad and selfish are constantly striving to secure control of the public powers and public assets, and wherever there are citizens worthy of the name those combinations are

being denounced and opposed with more or less vigor and success. As a rule these contending forces include but a small minority of the people, and a large majority of the voters are so lacking in anything like an adequate conception of the importance of good city government, or so blinded and divided by the insistence of mercenary politicians upon national or partisan issues, that they generally vote against their own interests.

But while the primary causes which lead to bad government are substantially the same in all cities, there are great differences in the local conditions upon which the success or failure of reform movements and reform methods must largely depend. Some of the

Differences in greatest difficulties that we have to deal with are found
Local Conditions. in places where the minority party is too insignificant and too venal to be available for any good purpose, places where there are no registration laws and no ballot or civil service laws that are worth having, and places where the federal patronage, the State legislature and all the departments of the State government, are dominated by the same party and the same corrupt influences which rule the city. There are cities where all the offices and all the machinery of elections are so entirely controlled by the enemies of good government, and fraud is so easy, so free from danger, and so general, that the most vital and essential of all the rights of the people, the power to express and enforce their wishes by their votes, is practically lost. One of the most necessary safeguards in a municipal government is that public service corporations should always be kept within striking distance of the ballot box. But there are communities where it is useless to appeal to the voters to protect themselves from extortion and abuse, because the public service corporations have been stupidly or corruptly permitted to intrench themselves behind impregnable ramparts of unlimited franchises and to obtain an enormous influence among the voters by a wide distribution of exceedingly profitable stocks, bonds and business patronage. In some places the desire to share in ill-gotten or unfair profits and the fear of business antagonism or of political and social ostracism have been sufficient to secure for a corrupt government the silence or support of a large majority of the most prominent and influential citizens.

If our Chicago friends will tell us how reformers can succeed in a city where they must contend with all the difficulties to which I have alluded,

we will be able to say of their wisdom as the Queen of
How Can Sheba said of the wisdom of Solomon, that the half
We Succeed? of its greatness had not been told us. It is, however,
 a very encouraging fact that there is only one of our

great commonwealths where the local governments are afflicted with all the known political diseases at one and the same time, and where it seems to be impossible for the people to elect better men until they can get better laws, and equally impossible for them to get better laws until they can elect better men. And although that unfortunate State may have to remain in the gall of bitterness and the bond of iniquity for some years

longer, there are signs that even in it the mighty leaven of purer and higher ideals is working strongly for its improvement.

I hope that my brief references to some of the places where our work is especially difficult will not give the impression that there can be any excuse for pessimism in the National Municipal League. Such a survey of the whole field as we will find in our Secretary's report will show that it is not only in Chicago, but in many other cities and States as well, that great progress has been made. I think we have abundant reasons for encouragement and enthusiasm in our work, and for an abiding faith in its ultimate success. [Applause.]

We will now have the pleasure of listening to the annual review of the Secretary, the Hon. Clinton Rogers Woodruff.

THE SECRETARY: I have entitled the year's review, "A Year's Disclosure and Development," for reasons which I think will be apparent as the paper progresses.

(For Mr. Woodruff's address on "A Year's Disclosure and Development," see Appendix.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The next item on our program is the report of the Treasurer, Mr. George Burnham, Jr. Mr. Burnham has been in Europe, and although he was to sail for home from Naples to-day he will hardly be able to get here before the convention adjourns, so Mr. Frank N. Hartwell, of Louisville, has kindly consented to read it for him.

The following report of the Treasurer was then read by Mr. Hartwell:

PHILADELPHIA, April 16, 1904.

OFFICERS OF THE NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE:

Gentlemen: Enclosed herewith is annual report of the Treasurer for the season 1903-4, covering receipts and expenditures and showing balance in hand, April 1, \$619.98. The accompanying vouchers, numbered 520 to 631, inclusive, have been duly approved by the Secretary and Vice-President, and I trust they will be found in order. The attached memorandum of the Union Trust Company shows the bank balance, April 1, \$1,084.99, and the notation thereon of checks drawn but not presented for payment shows the balance as per report.

Very truly yours,

GEO. BURNHAM, JR., *Treasurer*,

Per JAS. H. M. HAYES, *Attorney*.

Balance, April 22, 1903..... \$327 14

RECEIPTS:

Dues	\$3,195 00	
Contributions	3,158 60	
Proceedings	424 11	
Interest on bank balance.....	14 08	
	<hr/>	6,791 79

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EXPENDITURES:

Printing and stationery.....	\$1,437	45
Postage.....	1,065	94
Clerical work	474	65
Secretary	1,958	28
Detroit proceedings	868	11
Traveling expenses.....	316	72
Clippings	141	54
General expenses	236	26
		<hr/>
		\$6,498 95
Balance in hands of Treasurer, April 1.....		\$619 98

MR. HARTWELL: Mr. Chairman, I desire to state that accompanying the Treasurer's report are the various vouchers, and I make the usual motion that an auditing committee be appointed to verify the account.

The motion was carried, and the Chair appointed Messrs. Hartwell and John A. Butler, of Milwaukee, to audit the account.

THE CHAIRMAN: We will now have the report of the Committee on Nominations, which Mr. Butler will be kind enough to read.

The following report was then read by Mr. Butler:

NEW YORK, April 27, 1904.

TO THE NATIONAL MUNICIPAL LEAGUE:

Your Committee has the honor to submit the following nominations for officers and members of the Executive Committee of the National Municipal League for the year ensuing:

For Honorary President—James C. Carter, New York.

For President—Charles J. Bonaparte, Baltimore.

For Vice-Presidents—Charles Richardson, Philadelphia; Samuel B. Capen, Boston; Thomas N. Strong, Portland, Ore.; H. Dickson Bruns, New Orleans; Edmund J. James, Chicago.

For Secretary—Clinton Rogers Woodruff, Philadelphia.

For Treasurer—George Burnham, Jr., Philadelphia.

For Members of the Executive Committee—Horace E. Deming, New York, Chairman; William G. Low, Brooklyn; Frank H. Scott, Chicago; Mattoon M. Curtis, Cleveland; Elliot H. Pendleton, Cincinnati; Harry T. Atkins, Cincinnati; John Davis, Detroit; John A. Butler, Milwaukee; J. Horace McFarland, Harrisburg; Robert W. De Forest, New York; George Haven Putnam, New York; Charles B. Spahr, New York; Hector McIntosh, Philadelphia; Harry B. French, Philadelphia; George W. Guthrie, Pittsburg; Oliver McClintock, Pittsburg; Harry A. Garfield,

Princeton; Charles Nagel, St. Louis; Dudley Tibbetts, Troy; William P. Bancroft, Wilmington.

Respectfully submitted,

GEORGE MCANENY,
JOHN A. BUTLER,
L. S. ROWE,

Committee on Nominations.

THE CHAIRMAN: You have heard the report of the Committee on Nominations. I have some hesitation in entertaining a motion to approve that, as my name appears on the list. If some one will suggest a temporary Chairman, I will gladly vacate. If not, I will put the motion.

There seeming to be no disposition to relieve the Chairman of the responsibility, the question was put on a motion to authorize the Secretary to cast the ballot of the League in favor of the gentlemen named in the report, which motion was made by Mr. Butler, and it having been carried, the Secretary announced that he had cast a ballot as directed for the candidates, and they were accordingly declared elected.

THE CHAIRMAN: The next paper is, "The Denver Situation and the Rush Amendment," by Professor F. H. H. Roberts, of the University of Denver.

PROFESSOR ROBERTS: It will be slightly difficult for me to tell you what the Denver situation is. We have an election in about ten days that will answer the question much better than I can. At the present time I must sum the whole story up in one word, "unsatisfactory." The election may change it.

Our Secretary referred to our Honest Election League. That is a part of our situation. It has been unusually unfortunate. It has succeeded in having fifteen men indicted, but not one has been prosecuted. It was unfortunate in that matter. Every man who was indicted either succeeded in getting into the penitentiary or on the road to the gallows from the time they were indicted until the present, and they have been unable to try them or prove that any of them is guilty or intended to be guilty of fraud at the election. I believe that two of them succeeded in dying a natural death; one has been killed. It has been chasing these men out of town. They have been going down to Cañon City where our penitentiary is located, for other purposes. My paper is a colorless one, and historical rather than in any other spirit. It is not critical. It simply states the condition. The man who writes the paper a year from now can tell you the situation much better than I can, but I want to show you how we build a city in the West. Denver is the center of three million population. We have a great many cities that are suburbs of Denver, although they may be six hundred miles away. They come to Denver for their dry goods, their groceries and their notions [laughter]—of all characters. And if we succeed in building up good government in the city of Denver, it means good government in about four different states.

CHICAGO CONFERENCE

Professor Roberts then read his paper on "The Denver Situation." (See Appendix.)

THE CHAIRMAN: I will interrupt the proceedings for a few moments to hear some announcements from Mr. Hooker.

MR. HOOKER: On behalf of the City Club I wish to extend to all visiting delegates the privileges of that club during your stay here, including the dining-room facilities. You will find, on the skeleton program which is being distributed, the address of the club, 180 Madison street, and also this announcement which I have just made.

I would also like to call your attention to the reception to-morrow evening to follow President Bonaparte's annual address. The reception will be held on the floor above in the rooms of the Law School, and all of you and your friends (ladies, of course, included) are very cordially invited.

THE SECRETARY: The chairman of the Executive Committee desires a meeting of that committee immediately after the adjournment of this session, at his rooms, in the Auditorium Annex.

THE CHAIRMAN: The next paper on our program is one on "The St. Louis School Board; an Instance of Successful Home Rule," by the Hon. Charles Nagel, of St. Louis. We will have the pleasure of hearing from Mr. Nagel.

Mr. Nagel then read his paper, entitled "The St. Louis School Board." (See Appendix.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Dr. Oberholtzer has been prevented by family bereavement from being here, and if there is no objection his paper, on "Home Rule Provisions in American Charters," will be printed in the proceedings and not read at the present time. (See Appendix.) Omitting that paper will give us a few minutes for discussion. If anyone present wishes to ask the gentlemen who have been reading papers any questions, I have no doubt they will be willing to answer them.

THE SECRETARY: I have been asked to present, on behalf of the Denver Real Estate Exchange, the Denver Chamber of Commerce, the Denver Board of Trade, and the University of Denver, a cordial invitation to the National Municipal League to hold its next annual convention in Denver.

I move as usual with such invitations, that they be referred to the Executive Committee for action.

The motion was carried.

MR. ORVILLE T. BRIGHT, of Chicago: I should like to ask Mr. Nagel how the candidates for the school board in St. Louis are nominated.

MR. NAGEL: They are nominated by the parties, just as your candidates have been. We have made no improvement, with this exception, that the party managements appreciate the frame of mind of the community and they divide the nominations regularly.

MR. BRIGHT: Each party nominates six?

MR. NAGEL: No; we elect only four at a time, and each party takes two, and that is done by common consent, and no party has dared to invade that rule.

MR. BRIGHT: The election is for three years?

MR. NAGEL: No; I believe every two years. Every two years we elect four. There are twelve members altogether. So when the time comes each party agrees upon two candidates, and that party has the final determination as to those two selections, according the same privilege to the other.

PROFESSOR EDWARD W. BEMIS: When the teachers are nominated by the superintendents, must their appointment be confirmed by the board?

MR. NAGEL: Yes.

PROFESSOR BEMIS: Does that ever result in log-rolling?

MR. NAGEL: It has not. The result has been extremely satisfactory. I did not read the entire report, because I felt I was intruding upon your time as it was, but the teachers are reappointed every year, so that the superintendent and the board have that situation in absolute control at all times, so that dismissals and the wrangling over dismissals are rarely necessary, because the teachers may be deposed by merely dropping them. Of course there are occasions when resignations may be requested, but that would be under extreme conditions only.

MR. EDWIN BURRITT SMITH: I would like to ask Mr. Nagel a question: I take it that if two candidates were selected by both parties there is no contest at the polls at all?

MR. NAGEL: There is no contest at all.

MR. SMITH: Do you think that would work well commonly?

MR. NAGEL: I have ceased to think. I have come to the conclusion that no law will protect me; that I must protect myself. The system is not going to protect itself. It has worked finely so far. We have as fine a body of men as we can get. One man was a prominent figure in our city fifty years ago, and was then holding office.

MR. SMITH: I would like to make a few remarks under the general proposition. We started on a scheme similar to that on our drainage board some years ago, to build a great canal, but the law provides that each party shall only nominate a certain number. There are nine members of the board. Each party must nominate five. That was a matter of very great public interest at first, and we secured good nominations for a general election in the whole district. But of course the people only had an opportunity to reject one of the ten candidates. At first the board was good, but it became steadily worse. The politicians now control it. I think there was a similar scheme for the election of the upper house of the city council of Boston, adopted the year before last; an arrangement by which the people have a chance to reject three out of sixteen. I don't believe that will work where there is any patronage or where there is any

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Experience.**

considerable amount of money to be expended in contracts, as a rule; because it is not an election, but simply a nomination, and unless you provide that the people can really nominate, which as a rule they do not do now, it simply leaves it to party machines.

MR. NAGEL: We have all the attractions for the spoilsman. We of course have schoolhouses to build. I say "we," although I am not a member of the board and have never been. We have schoolhouses to repair and janitors to appoint and quite a force of men. We have the same conditions that led to the original degradation of the school board, and yet so far we have managed to select an excellent body of men. Now this division between the parties is not a matter of regulation by law. That is a matter of consideration outside, and while of course we realize the danger and realize that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty, yet if either party were to refuse to recognize that rule of common consent, it would invite opposition in the community, and if each party were to take advantage of its privilege to name two men and select distinctly bad men, it would invite like condemnation. So that for the present I think we have the situation in pretty good control. But of course every law depends on intelligent use.

THE CHAIRMAN: I would like to ask Mr. Nagel what is the comparative strength of the two parties in St. Louis, as a rule.

MR. NAGEL: We have no way of gauging that now, because we have had no election in our city for some years that we are willing to accept as a test, but the city is supposed to be Republican under normal conditions. The Republican party, however (referring to that same administration which I spoke of), abused its opportunity and became very unpopular, so that Democratic success was entirely natural. I think we may say that the parties are sufficiently well divided to exercise something of a check upon each other.

MR. G. CHARLES GRIFFITHS, of Chicago: Do women have a right to vote for members of the Board of Education in St. Louis?

MR. NAGEL: Not yet.

MR. E. B. STURGES, of Scranton: Has the legislature the power to upset that condition of affairs at any time?

MR. NAGEL: Yes. The legislature has that power. The municipal government has the charter, which, however, is subject to some of the dangers discussed in connection with the Denver situation. But the school board is under the direction of the legislature, and this act was a legislative act.

MR. STURGES: But you have had seven years of it.

MR. NAGEL: We have had seven years that we have had better success than we imagined.

MR. PRICE: If I understand Mr. Nagel correctly, the Superintendent of Schools has the initiative in all appointments and in the regulation of the course of study and in the selection of text-books.

MR. NAGEL: Subject to the approval of the board.

MR. BRIGHT: But the initiative must come from the superintendent?

MR. NAGEL: Yes, sir.

MR. BRIGHT: I think there is a suggestion for Brother Smith. And as I understand also, the Commissioner of Buildings has pretty nearly the same initiative in that business.

MR. NAGEL: Yes. He has about the same position. Both are appointed by the board, but become independent, and responsible to the public after they are appointed.

MR. BRIGHT: Then you have an auditor—

MR. NAGEL: A treasurer and secretary.

MR. BRIGHT: And they may block any unfortunate game that is going?

MR. NAGEL: They are in a position to block everything that is irregular.

PROFESSOR BEMIS: With regard to another paper of the afternoon, from my friend, Mr. Woodruff, I think that I would like to put one remark into the minutes. The Secretary has given us such an admirable presentation, yet he has to rely, of course, in many cases, upon correspondents, and there was one remark that he made in regard to the Ohio situation, that strikes me as perhaps based on letters that look upon the matter so differently from what I have seen on the spot, that I merely want to interject one paragraph into the minutes, and that merely to present my point of view in regard to it. He was explaining the first victory in Cleveland for the present city administration as a victory for municipal good government, and the defeat of Mr. Johnson for Governor last fall as a just rebuke for taking municipal questions into state politics, or interjecting municipal officials into state political arenas, if I understood it right. Now I am not going to discuss the causes of the election nor the results of it at all, but merely to say that I do not think that that was the cause, and I would say further that in a State like Ohio or New York, and in fact in most of our states that do not have home rule provisions in their charter and in the state constitution, a man cannot be to-day a good municipal reformer unless he also tries to get control of the legislature and the governorship, to prevent the ruining of whatever you attempt in city affairs by a bad legislature. It is absolutely necessary in most of our states to-day in order to get home rule into the state constitutions and into the legislative acts—it is almost necessary for municipal reformers to go into state politics as an immediate means. As an ultimate end, we want to get rid of going into state politics, but before we can do that we have to do something to make state legislatures commit political suicide in the control of cities, which is of course one of the great things we are working for. Therefore I would say any effort made by the people of Cleveland to go into state politics had a good motive so far as that is concerned, although I am not going into the merits of the campaign. I merely say this because Mr. Woodruff's paper was so magnificent, I wanted to say, as a resident of Ohio, I looked on that point a

little differently, and I think perhaps he intended to put it a little differently.

THE SECRETARY: So there may be no misunderstanding as to the point I made, permit me to say that my review referred only to the city of Cleveland, and not to the State situation in Ohio. I don't know what it was—at least I am not fully advised as to all the causes that led to Mr. Johnson's defeat in the State at large; but the thing that impressed me in the local situation from my own study of it at first hand, and also from the information which I received, was this: that Mr. Johnson was using his city officials to carry on his State campaign. I received a letter from one of the city officials of Cleveland, which I have preserved as an interesting exhibit, stating that he could not answer for six weeks particular questions I had asked him, as he was busy campaigning in the state for Mr. Johnson, and would not be back in Cleveland except on Sundays. Now it is that sort of injection of the municipal officers into a State campaign that is objectionable, and it was generally understood that a great many of Mr. Johnson's officials did that very thing. Some who are very close and careful observers felt that that was one of the reasons why Mr. Johnson failed to carry Cleveland, because he was doing the reverse of what he contended for. The State had put its hand into municipal politics, and the voters of Cleveland rebuked that. Then they rebuked Mr. Johnson for forcing the municipal officers into the State fight. Unfortunately all of Mr. Johnson's appointees are not of the same character as Professor Bemis, who has just spoken. If we had more Professor Bemises there, I don't think that that would lead to Mr. Johnson's losing Cleveland.

PROFESSOR BEMIS: It is to be condemned, and I should join Mr. Woodruff in condemning that, although I have not heard it referred to in Cleveland as an important factor in this campaign. Of course that is frequently done in most of the cities in this country.

THE CHAIRMAN: I think as we are to have a meeting of the Executive Committee at the close of this session, that the time has arrived when we had better adjourn.

The convention then adjourned until 8 P. M.

WEDNESDAY EVENING SESSION

The second session of the Conference was called to order in the Northwestern University Building at 8 o'clock P. M. by Vice-President Edmund J. James, President of Northwestern University.

THE CHAIRMAN: I desire in the first place to extend a hearty welcome to the members and delegates of the National Municipal League to this building, and to express the pleasure of the University at being able to put it at your disposal.

My attention was called two days ago to the fact that "introductory remarks by the presiding officer" was a title on the program. I received

no intimation as to the subject of the remarks, but as I am somewhat interested in the topic of the evening, I think I will announce a few remarks on that by way of stirring up the speakers who come after me, for I am sure I shall present a point of view that will receive criticism from the speakers who come on, so my remarks will add at least to the interest of the investigation

Of all the departments of city government there is none that is more difficult than that of taxation. There is no department in which there is

less agreement among the men who have thought **Taxation a** longest and studied deepest on the subject in regard **Difficult Problem.** even to such a simple matter as the definition. There is no subject in which the difficulties of classification seem to be greater. No two men really agree to-day—no two of the great writers upon taxation in any language agree upon any fundamental classification of taxes, or agree upon any set of definitions of what taxation really is. And above all, they fail to agree upon the economic results of taxation. It is almost impossible to get any two men to agree as to who pays a given tax in the long run—who bears the burden of it. We know of course who is called on to pay it in the first place; but whether the burden rests on our shoulders or we are able to shift it off and roll it on to somebody else—I say there are no two authorities who agree on any fundamental principles.

Of all the departments of taxation, I think none is more complicated or more difficult to arrive at any clear and well-defined conclusion in regard to, than local taxation, or as we understand the term here to-night, municipal taxation; for, however closely the authorities may agree upon—or however they may strive to agree upon—some of the principles of taxation in a broad way covering the nation or the state, they diverge still more widely when it comes to the question of municipal taxation.

Those of you who have read the writings of David A. Wells, who was the first writer in this country to **Differences** expatiate on this subject on the basis of long-continued **among Students.** if not very scientific studies, will remember that he was a great advocate of what he called a simple system of taxation, and he thought he could prove beyond any doubt where the burden of a tax was ultimately to rest, and having done so, then he could pick out the tax which a community ought to levy and which in the long run would distribute itself equitably among those in the community who were to bear the burden. It has always seemed to me (although Mr. Wells would turn over in his grave if any one would attribute such a thought to him) that the Henry George theory was the logical outcome of David A. Wells' theory advanced from a different point of view, and the striking thing in both features, and the one which is attractive to everyone, including those who agree with them least of all, is the simplicity of the proposition.

Now every modern country has had this same difficulty about munici-

pal taxation that we are having. England, France, Germany, Austria—all of them, every country in proportion as it became developed, in proportion as municipal life has developed in the last generation, has come face to face with this as its most serious problem, and every European country has established one commission after another and established one law after another in trying to arrive at some kind of a method which will be at once fruitful and fair. Of course this very largely came, you may say almost entirely, from the new demands which we are making from the social point of view on the modern municipality. As long as we were willing to have the state bear the burden of all the expenses, and as long as the city did not have to look after the administration of justice, as long as we had no fire protection or police force, and dealt with education only on the narrowest possible lines, of course a municipality needed very little revenue; but with the beginning of the last century we began to place new demands on the municipality involving the raising of large funds for municipal purposes. As soon as that came, trouble came. Under the old plan we might have raised all the money needed by voluntary contribution, which at one time was in force in Hamburg, and which has been used at different times in other communities in different cities of the world, and at different periods of the world's developments. As soon as we began to need large sums of money it was necessary to use new means. With all the great demands of to-day we are face to face with one of two propositions. Either to find a more effective means of public revenue and one which will be fair and just and truthful, or else stop advancing. And to my mind, from an economic point of view, the real place at which our whole modern governmental system is breaking down, is this very problem of local taxation. How can we meet from our local sources the demands which our growing conception of the duty of a municipality to itself and its different classes require us to meet?

Now I am going to lay down two or three propositions in regard to taxation in Chicago, because I think they apply to every city. In the first place, I don't believe that our present system of **Chicago's System** taxation in the city of Chicago would furnish—and I **Inadequate.** may say I use the term taxation here in rather a large sense; I am concerned here regarding the total public revenue of a municipality, not about taxation in that narrowest of senses which an economist might apply to it in giving the narrowest permissible definition of the word "tax," which would exclude a license or fee for public service of any kind. I am using the term for getting public revenue by means of compulsory or semi-compulsory revenue—my first proposition is that the present system (our present laws, if you please), even if they were efficiently and honestly enforced, would not provide that amount of public revenue—that proportion of the total income of this community which we ought in all reason to be spending upon our public purposes.

I think in a modern civilized community like our own, leaving out the question of administrative efficiency or inefficiency, we ought to be spending a much larger proportion of the total revenue of society through our recognized public agents; collecting it through taxation and dispensing it through our public channels. Now the present system of deriving public revenue in the city of Chicago, in my opinion, is entirely inadequate to secure that proportion of the total income of society which we ought in all reason to be spending for public purposes, no matter how honestly the law should be administered. Any system of local taxation in our large cities, it seems to me, ought to include—and I will mention one or two concrete sources of revenue—a land tax; it ought to include a system of license fees and fees in general; that is, charges which the public makes for certain public services—and

The City's Right to Profits. those ought to be public services, such as inspection of all kinds—it ought to include the profits from municipal

undertakings such as water, gas and transportation.

Now this of course strikes one of the very critical points of our whole modern social policy. I should designate as profits in any public enterprise of that sort that portion of the income which a community would have to give to private parties in order to get them to carry on the business under the supervision of the community. Now I maintain that that is a fund which economically speaking it is proper for a community to take and employ for general public purposes. It is also a fund which it may just as properly, from purely social considerations, if it chooses to do so, refuse to take at all, and the consequence of which of course would be a very much diminished charge for these services. But if the community would have to allow a five-cent rate to be charged on street-car lines, I see no reason from the economic point of view why it is not a perfectly proper thing for the community to charge this when it takes them on to the public service, even though one and a half cents represent the real charge which the community would have to be paying private individuals for it. Neither do I see any objection to the community taking that one and a half cents and using it for social purposes, spending it on education or parks or some other social purpose, or using it in the form of making transportation more efficient by simply reducing the price three and a half cents, if one and a half cents represent the whole thing. I believe that all these elements ought to come into any system of taxation, in a word, and that represents to my mind (perhaps it is the critical point on which men would differ from one another), that a system which is efficient in the modern municipalities will be a complex system of public revenue, a complex system of taxation, and not a simple one, and no simple scheme of taxation yet proposed would provide the adequate revenue without being unjust and unfair.

I see my time has passed. The regular program of the evening, the subject of Municipal Taxation, will be presented in the first place by

Mr. Lawson Purdy, of New York, the secretary of the Tax Reform Association, of whose good work you all know. [Applause.]

MR. PURDY: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: It would give me a great deal of pleasure to discuss what Dr. James has said. It would give me a great deal more pleasure and perhaps might give you more, than for me to read the paper; but I have a paper to read which will take me from fifteen to twenty minutes, so that I am afraid I cannot discuss Pro-

Chicago's Peculiar Condition. fessor James' remarks beyond this, that in Chicago you have a very peculiar condition, so peculiar that I find it difficult to get from Chicago people a correct statement of what the condition is. [Laughter.] The tax rate in Chicago is a little over five per cent, but that is

imposed on what is nominally one-fifth of the value of property. Now the fact probably is that the assessment is more nearly what the State Board of Equalization has said it is, which is about three-quarters the full value; and then by law one-fifth of that three-quarters is taken for the assessable value, and probably it is not more than what they say. Then you have a rate of five per cent or a little over imposed on fifteen per cent of the value of property. Then your tax rate in Chicago is less than one-sixth of five per cent. Now you can very well afford to more than double the present revenue of Chicago with your present very faulty system. Perhaps that would not be revenue enough, but it would make quite a change in the existing conditions.

My paper is more general than the remarks of Dr. James. I have endeavored to outline what may be done, and in fact must be done all over the United States, with the exception of a very few States, before we can get any proper system of municipal taxation.

Mr. Purdy then read a paper on "Municipal Taxation." (See Appendix.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The subject of Chicago's tax problem will be taken up in the first place by Mr. Colin C. H. Fyffe. [Applause.]

MR. FYFFE: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: When I was asked to make some remarks this evening on the subject of local taxation,

Chicago's Tax Problem. I naturally cast about for a subject, particularly as it was suggested to me that the question of the extraction of personal property tax from the reluctant taxpayer should not come within the scope of what I should say.

I wanted, therefore, to pick out something which was not a matter of theory, on which I would not simply have to give my own opinion; for, as a matter of fact, I would not have you attach much weight to my own opinion on any theory of taxation. Whatever I have had to do with taxation has been with the executive department of the city government. I did want to pick out something that was fundamental—I mean fundamental in the sense that it touched more or less upon everybody in the community; and I also wanted to find something which, so far as I could discover, was more or less unknown.

I wish to say a few words to-night on some of the remote results of the law under which the taxes in the city of Chicago are reduced to five per cent of the assessed valuation. That is the well-known law which is commonly known as the Juul act, after Senator Juul, who proposed it in the Senate three years ago.

Now the Juul act on the whole represents, I understand from those who know much more about the subject than I do, as a matter of theory, an extremely good purpose in tax legislation. That is, it has the idea of definiteness in it. Every man knows that his taxes under the Juul act,

The Juul Act. in the city of Chicago, will be only five per cent of the assessed valuation, and nothing more than that. But

I think that some of the more indirect results of the Juul act, so far as those results bear—not upon the taxpayer at all (except indirectly perhaps), but upon the municipal corporations which go to make up the territory of the city of Chicago, such as the county, the sanitary district, the various park boards, the city itself, and the Board of Education—are very little known. Now the Juul act (stripped of the various husks which have been put around it to protect it from an attack on its constitutionality) amounts to this: that the County Clerk of Cook County is authorized and directed to ascertain that district or part of the taxing district within the bounds of the city of Chicago, in which there is the highest rate of taxation in the aggregate, and if that rate be greater than five per cent of the assessed valuation, exclusive of the tax for the State (which, of course, is protected by the constitution) and the tax for school building purposes levied by the Board of Education (which is excluded by the act itself), those rates must be reduced *pro rata* to five per cent of the assessed valuation. That is the first provision of the Juul act.

Now I think a word ought to be said as to its history. The agitation for its passage arose mainly from the reason that for a period of years, from 1891 on, there had been a severe depression in

Its History. the real estate market in Chicago, and the taxes during that period were very high on real estate. The reason

the taxes were high on real estate was, in the first place, because the taxpayers of the city of Chicago—I do not mean without exception by any means—but the general run told untruths under oath in regard to their personal property; and, in the second place, because the territory of the city was five or six years ago, and is to-day and will be for some time to come, so plastered with municipalities—sanitary district, city, board of education, the various park boards, the old towns—that there was a marked increase in the amount of taxes over what they should have been in any reasonable system of government. This arose from the decentralization of the offices and the duplication of officials, and because the public could not look after so many municipalities carefully enough to keep a good watch on them. So the time came in 1898 when the

new revenue act was passed at a special session. At that special session the present act, under which our Board of Assessors and Board of Review were constituted, was passed—an act which is conceived to do a great service to the city and the various taxing bodies. But the opportunity came then to get on to the statute books a law which would reduce the aggregate amount of the taxes and that resulted in the celebrated Section 11, which was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in January, 1900. Under that act, finding the assessed valuation was found at a very much higher figure than it had ever been found before in Chicago—\$100,000,000, as I remember it. The act was declared unconstitutional, as I say. One argument made for that act was, that after the act had been passed the taxpayer who had paid about the amount of his personal property was then compelled to come forward, knowing that his taxes would not be more, or less, or the State and school, and city taxes, that five per cent of the assessed valuation, and would tell the truth, and that to induce him to put himself into a condition of truthfulness and afterwards declare the act invalid was to betray and make him into a liar. It was almost in these words that the Supreme Court set aside that contention on the part of those who argued for the validity of the act.

But the act, while it lasted, brought out one feature which I mention because it is so much like the operation of the Juul act. It was found when the County Clerk went about throughout the whole county for the purpose where there was the greatest amount of taxation, he found it to exist in a part of the village of Riverside, twelve miles west of here—in a little territory of that village that did not include more than half a square mile, bounded by the tracks of the Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Railroad on the north and the Desplaines River on the south, which happens to be within the town of Lyons and also the village of Riverside. Now, there was a tax levied in that year, either in Lyons or Riverside, but covering this territory, of 1.57 per cent of the assessed valuation for the purposes of School District Number 5. There was also a high-school tax of .45 per cent of the assessed valuation. Those two taxes, which over the whole of that little district amounted, I believe, to a levy of one thousand dollars or so, made a difference of almost one million dollars to Cook County, the sanitary district and the city of Chicago; and, as Judge Taft rightly said, it was in his mind the best instance he had ever seen of taxation without representation. For the mere fact of the desire on the part of the school trustees of the village of Riverside to add to their school service (I believe in that case it was to add to the salaries of some of the school-teachers or to get some additional assistance in that respect) without increase in their taxation, which had an effect on the rate of taxation of every other taxing body in the County of Cook.

Now that act has passed away. Its place was taken by the Juul act, passed in 1901. An effort has been made in the wording of the Juul act to make it free from the constitutional objections which were raised against

the old act of 1898, that objection being that the act was contrary to the constitution in that it was special municipal legislation, the particular example being that the city of Evanston, with a population of fifteen or twenty thousand people, was, for the mere reason that it was located in a county of more than a hundred and twenty-five thousand inhabitants, subjected to a certain reduction of its taxes which would not be applied to Joliet, Aurora, Quincy or other towns, simply because they happened to be in counties of less population than a hundred and twenty-five thousand. Now whether that applies to the Juul act to-day is a matter of debate among lawyers. At all events, the act stands to-day, whether constitutional or not, on our statute books. What I wish to do to-night is to point out two or three things in this act which have been brought to my attention, which I think are wholly inconsistent with any system either of taxation or finance that could recommend itself to any sensible man.

Here is the way in which the Juul act operates: Upon the final result of the assessment coming to the County Clerk from the State Board of Equalization, the assessor having assessed the values, the Board of Review having reviewed the work of the assessor, and the State Board of Equalization having equalized the assessed valuation for the year, the County Clerk takes these assessed valuations and ascertains them for the various taxing districts in the county. He ascertains then the rates levied for all the taxing districts in Chicago. He then searches for that part of Chicago which has the highest rate of taxation, which is, and will probably always be, in the town of West Chicago. Every municipality since the passage of the Juul act has been levying its full rate in order to save itself on the reduction. That rate amounts in the town of West Chicago to 7.55 per cent of the assessed valuation. That, of course, excludes State taxes and the taxes for school building purposes of the Board of Education. This aggregate is then reduced by the application of the rule of three to five per cent of the assessed valuation. That is, as 5 is to 7.55, so X is to the amount originally levied by the particular municipality. The reduction is then made *pro rata* throughout. After that reduction has been made, it is generally supposed that there is the end of things for that act. You would seem to have here a consistent act, one that gives the taxpayer the opportunity of knowing in advance about what his taxes are going to be. He knows that the rate at least won't be higher than five cents on the dollar of assessed valuation. But the framers of the law wholly disregarded the fact that when you come to find out the rate, the boundaries of the various taxing bodies which go to make up that rate differ wholly in area and differ in amount of assessed valuation. For the sanitary district, which takes up the whole of the city and almost the whole of the county, the assessed value of the taxable property in 1903 was \$431,000,000. For the county itself it was about \$440,000,000. For the city it was a little more than \$411,000,000. The city levies, which are assessed against \$411,000,000, include the city, the

public library and the school tax. The tax on the West Side that was levied against the \$89,000,000 was only for the town of West Chicago itself, certain old bonds and the park system. Against the county valuation there was only levied the county tax. So it would be plain at once, from a mere application of arithmetic, that whereas in this system of reduction from 7.55 to 5 each fraction in the rate of every taxing body has exactly the same value as the same fraction in the rate of any other taxing body. But the assessed valuations of taxable property against which these rates are levied are very different.

This brings me to the first example. In the year 1901 an act was passed authorizing the authorities of the town of West Chicago to issue bonds to the extent of one million dollars for the acquisition and maintenance of small parks and pleasure grounds, and to raise a tax of one mill on the dollar for the purpose of paying the interest on these bonds and their sinking fund. If that tax so given had last year not been levied, instead of there being an aggregate rate of taxation of 7.55 per cent, it would have been 7.45 per cent. This difference in the rates seems to represent an extremely small amount of money; but the result of it was this, that that mill or ten cents on \$100 of assessment, when distributed between the other taxing bodies (because if you add one dollar on the assessed valuation to any particular one taxing body, you have to spread that over all, because they must be kept down to five per cent), made a loss to the city of Chicago of a little over two and a half cents on the hundred dollars; and that ten cents was so spread over the other taxing bodies that the loss to the sanitary district was about one cent, the loss to the county was the same. The loss to the schools was something like three cents on one hundred dollars valuation. The result of it was this, that when that levy was given to the West Side for these park purposes it produced, as levied, for the West Side, on a valuation of

\$89,000,000, just \$89,000. Now as the Juul act cuts down the levies about 33 per cent, this \$89,000 was reduced to about \$60,000 or \$61,000, so that all that the town of West Chicago received for the purposes of its small

**Reduction of
Levies.**

parks and pleasure grounds was about \$61,000. But the city of Chicago had to be reduced about two and a half cents on the hundred dollars by reason of that additional tax for the West Park system. As the assessed valuation of the city's taxable property was \$411,000,000, the additional reduction of two and a half cents amounted to about \$100,000, which sum the city of Chicago actually lost, therefore, by reason of the west town getting \$61,000 net. The loss to the school system of Chicago, by reason of that, was something like \$130,000; the loss to the county, \$50,000; the loss to the sanitary district, perhaps \$30,000. The total loss could not have been less to all the taxing districts than \$300,000. Now that was a net loss. The taxing bodies were out of that much money, which they would have got if the law had not been passed. Now it seems to me that an act which works in that way can hardly be called

consistent with any system of finance or legitimate taxation. It would have been much better, as any one can see, if it could legally have been done, for the city, the sanitary district, and the county, to chip in and pay that \$61,000 over to the town of West Chicago for its park purposes, and saved their own money. They would have made money by doing so.

I would like to call attention to another case of a like nature in the operation of the Juul act. The Sanitary Board, as we all know, is the corporation which conducts and maintains the drainage canal. The city of Chicago is wholly dependent for the purity of its water supply on the maintenance of that system. The maintenance of it is an extremely

The Sanitary District.

important and costly matter. The Chicago River had to be deepened. The intercepting sewer system at Thirty-ninth street on the south and at Lawrence avenue on the north has to be kept up, although not entirely finished now, but the maintenance of all that system will take a great sum of money, a very large annual sum. Now, the sanitary district of Chicago has had, under the statute creating it, since 1899 (the time of the completion of the canal), a tax rate of fifty cents upon the hundred dollars; one-half of one per cent on the assessed valuation. It has a right to an indebtedness of \$15,000,000 and under the constitution of the State and the statute, but particularly under the constitution of the State, it has, as all municipalities have, to levy every year a sinking fund for the retirement within at least twenty years, and the payment of interest on its indebtedness, which will amount to about ten per cent of this \$15,000,000. That comes to about \$1,500,000, which the sanitary district must levy under the constitution every year for the payment of its bonds. That amounts to a rate on its valuation equal to about thirty-four cents on the hundred dollars. It has to have, as I say, this thirty-four cents on the dollar, which cannot be reduced; yet under the operation of the Juul act, which, as I said before, cuts down the taxes that are asked for, about thirty-three per cent, you have seventeen cents taken off of fifty cents, and so instead of having thirty-four cents with which to pay the bonded indebtedness you have about thirty-two cents or thirty-three cents in all,—not enough to pay the bonded indebtedness alone, and not a cent left for the maintenance of the sanitary district and the purification of the water supply of the city.

Well, the authorities who spread the taxes in Cook County were in great difficulty. They did what it always seemed to me their duty called them to do. They arbitrarily and unlawfully, without

Perplexing Difficulties.

any regard to the Juul act, which stared them in the face, gave the sanitary district about eight or nine cents, or perhaps a little more. The sanitary district had no more right to this increase than the city of Chicago has a right, for corporate purposes, to levy a two and a half per cent tax instead of two per cent. That illegal increase of the sanitary district's tax has been

done two years running, to my knowledge, and the difficulty arose from no other reason than the operation of the Juul act; because if there were not that reduction, or if the sanitary district were excluded from the reduction, you would have the bonded levy made and sixteen per cent left, which I understand would be ample now for the maintenance of the canal. Now I say that a scheme that reduces thus the taxes of a municipal corporation that is of such stupendous necessity to this whole community as is the sanitary district, is so bad that it does not need to be looked at from the standpoint of theoretical finance or taxation at all. It is utterly bad on its face.

The only other illustration of the operation of the Juul act that I wish to call attention to is this: In the year or two prior to the first of last January, the Public Library Board of this city had

The Public Library Board.	amassed a savings of \$125,000 or \$130,000. When I say "savings," I mean they had reduced their anticipations of tax levies about that extent, and that extra money would be available this year. The city of Chicago was, of course, in hard straits. When the Library Board came around to the finance committee to get its annual appropriation, it was very naturally suggested by the members of the finance committee that the Library Board, being so much better off than any other city department, having this large sum piled away, might get this year a less amount by perhaps two cents. When I say two cents I mean the Library Board is allowed by law a tax of ten cents on the hundred dollars of assessed valuation, and the suggestion was that, instead of getting that, it should receive eight cents. That would have amounted to a loss to the Library Board of about \$82,000. Their revenue would have been cut down about that much. The point was then made to the finance committee that it was true that the Library Board's income could be cut down by \$82,000, but where would the money go? Under the Juul act the city of Chicago only gets about twenty-five per cent of all the taxes. The county gets about fifteen per cent, and the whole of it is divided up in that way between six or seven taxing bodies, but the share of the city of Chicago which the finance committee were endeavoring to conserve would be only about twenty-five per cent of that \$82,000.
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But I think these considerations are sufficient to show that the county and the city and the sanitary district and the big taxing bodies of this county are in the position where, unless the rates of taxation are so lowered by reason of the increase of the assessed taxation, that the Juul act doesn't operate at all. They are in a condition where it is impossible to do good financing at all, where it is known that a small levy by some comparatively insignificant taxing body for perhaps an insignificant purpose will be a real injury in the way of a reduction, a reduction that spreads itself all over the city and all over the county. So that when criticisms are made, as they frequently are, of the financial management of the city or of the county or of the sanitary district, of all these different bodies which

stand on the same practical basis or otherwise, it seems to me that these facts, which are not matters of theory at all, but which are actual facts, should in all fairness be borne in mind by the people of Chicago, and that the time has almost come when the claim of the real estate board of this city, the claim of other persons perhaps, should be discredited, which is that the Juul act should be treated as a dead man is treated, and nothing but good said about it. [Applause.]

THE CHAIRMAN: The committee has suggested this meeting be closed at a quarter to ten. I notice Mr. Frost in the audience. I know we shall be very glad to hear from him if he will talk to us on any phase of this subject for five minutes. [Applause.]

MR. EDGAR ALLEN FROST: The subject of taxation is one upon which it is very difficult to arouse much enthusiasm. The interest in it is usually spasmodic, and is taken up especially by the people who pay the taxes at the time they pay them. The Chairman has limited me. That is a self-acting tax restriction which will protect you from the infliction of too much talent on you. But you have noticed one element that ran through the speeches that have been made, that is the abrogation of restriction in taxation. It is a marvelous thing, but it is true, that the most advanced of reform bodies and most retrograde of civic municipalities are in accord. Both desire that all restrictions on taxation should be removed, both in the constitution and in the state legislature. The one because they believe evidently that the people can best load the burden upon themselves in a way best adapted to their means and necessities, and the other because it gives an opportunity to plunder the public even more than it has been plundered.

It seems to me, without becoming too theoretical in this matter, that one very important consideration is overlooked, and that is that in the modern municipalities the taxpayer,—the power holder, and the voter are widely separated. The extension of the franchise has placed the ballot in the hands of the non-contributing. The voter has been separated from all forms of taxation, and when you take a highly sociological community like ours with its organizations of one kind and another to prey upon each other and to get a special advantage, you not only encourage that kind of organization by giving greater powers to the municipal employees, but you also separate it from any contribution to those employees, and when you have separated the individual from the tax register and the roll, you have commenced that course which in the end leads to anarchy and the kind of violence that Chicago and other cities have been cursed with.

Bring Individual and Taxpayer Together. When you bring the individual to the tax gatherer you have forged again that link which binds the public weal to the private good,—the participation through the pocket in the expense of carrying on the affairs of the municipality or the state. The overlooking of the wonderful extension of the ballot is the mistake I sometimes feel we

are making when we are calling for any kind of abrogation of tax restrictions.

The gentleman who gave us that admirable address, concise, to the point, and far-reaching in its effect, said that he didn't understand anything about our tax system here. Of course it is difficult to understand it, but it is not difficult to get hold of its controlling features.

The constitution of Illinois provides that there shall be a limit on municipal and county and town indebtedness, limiting it to five per cent of the taxable value of the property as determined at the last previous assessment. That constitution was adopted a good many years ago, and it put a quietus upon the incurring of any very extensive debts in any

Constitutional Provisions.

very extensive community. When the public demand became great that the county or town should give this or that or the other service that was before given by individuals, the expedient of creating a new municipal body was evolved. That was attractive to the people who wanted it put through, and to the politicians, because it made more places. They kept piling one body on the other, each one of them having a certain rate of taxation, until finally we have in the city of Chicago not a tax limit of five per cent, but we have five per cent multiplied by as many taxing bodies as we have. Now we also had a tax rate which was given to each one of these bodies to raise a little money. By and bye, instead of our taxes being one per cent, they were one per cent multiplied by as many taxing bodies as we have. With that kind of conditions you must put a restriction upon taxation, and the Juul law, which says there shall not be to exceed a certain amount on the full value of the property, is not only theoretically good, but it is practically good. It is practically good because taxation has some other purpose than exhausting the tax-producing power. The idea of government is to develop the taxing power, to develop the tax-producing power. If you take from a man more than one per cent of the value of his property, assuming it will earn three or four per cent, you come pretty near confiscating it. If you are going to take the principal of properties for taxation, then you are going to do what no man can do and continue in business. You are exhausting your principal in running expenses. That is nonsense. You cannot in fairness exhaust your tax-producing power. If you take more than one per cent, with interest rates at three and a half or four per cent on the property, you see you are taking one-quarter to one-third of the man's production of his property. You cannot have your cake and eat it, and if you take your principal and exhaust it you are ruining your community just as you ruin your individual. Your tax restriction must be based on the earning capacity of your property. You may not tax all your property. That property that does not pay should not pay to exceed one per cent on its full value.

§. Now we are asked, "Why don't you have a full value in the city of Chicago? Why do you have this matter of one-fifth? The constitution

of Illinois puts a limitation upon our indebtedness. On the other hand, we commenced with a full value. **Assessment at Full Value.** No one will find any fault with that. You start with a full value, and the personal equation is very strong in taxation matters, because while we are willing each shall bear his full burden, yet we each try to shift it to the other, and the personal equation is much stronger there than in any other public function performed. In Illinois, if you had a bonded indebtedness of one-fifth the full value, we would have one of a hundred million dollars. New York has four hundred million dollars, and has accumulated a great lot of public property which may be developed. Paris has an indebtedness of four hundred million dollars, but a debt has no advantage unless in the building up of that debt you have secured a property which will pay and not consume itself in the operation. Now we take one-fifth of the full value, simply to keep down our bonded debt. The reason we do that is, if we gave to each of these taxing bodies five per cent, we would have five, six or seven times five per cent. We would have, in other words, not an indebtedness of a hundred million dollars in the city of Chicago, but we would multiply that by as many times as we have bodies, and, by and bye, be as bad off as New York.

What we want is an adaptation of our revenues to the present demands, and not the creation of a debt of any kind. Take this particular piece of property. I don't believe it is exempt from taxation. What is this particular piece of property charged with? It is charged with school taxes, with state, county, parks, drainage, library, all of those taxes, and in addition to that it is charged with all license fees that it pays, it is also charged with any special assessment it pays. When you come to that, the city of Chicago pays about twenty-five million dollars of straight taxes, five million of special assessment, and five or six million dollars of what we call miscellaneous receipts. Those are revenues from the liquor licenses and licenses of all kinds. Then the council gets about two million dollars from one source and another. The Board of Education has a large fund for investment, and gets perhaps one million dollars on that, making, all told, about thirty-eight million dollars, and then, in addition to that, this and other property pays a tax that too often in reform bodies is entirely overlooked.

The extension of the civil service rules has driven out of public government a great many people who derive their revenue from connection with politics. Civil service is working a wonderful **Civil Service** revolution in the city. But the men who are ousted **Rules.** must be provided for in some way, otherwise the organization falls to pieces. And how are they provided for? You find them in the street-car companies and in the telephone companies. In other words, the public official has transferred the incubus to the public service corporations. But if the gas company employs a man at a thousand dollars a year who is not worth three hun-

dred dollars, isn't the gas company paying seven hundred dollars taxes? It is true the public is not getting it, but is it not true that it is costing the gas company seven hundred dollars on that particular man? You can't get around that in any way, manner or shape. Now when you come to look at that side of the question you will find in the street-railroad company (because you are taking his property), you will find a man who does not pay his taxes is paying more than appears on that list. That in Chicago or New York would amount to a large sum of money. If that were applied to public purposes it would be quite ample to give us a decidedly better public administration, and in view of that fact it is not necessary that we should increase that current revenue to what it is in New York, where it is notorious that out of a hundred million dollars collected for ordinary public purposes, perhaps not over sixty million dollars of it actually reaches the purposes for which it is intended. I mean by that, that out of every dollar New York expends, New York gets perhaps less than sixty cents of value. We do not expect municipalities to give a hundred cents on the dollar, because you can't operate any public community as cheaply nor as well as a private individual can do it. The reason for that is obvious. If you are a stockholder in a large concern and that concern does not pay you dividends, you begin to inquire of the management why this is so, and if the management does not make good on the dividends, out goes the management and a new management comes in, so that there is a direct personal reason why a private corporation should make better returns on the capital invested than in the public municipality, because when a municipality gives you a dirty street, when it gives you no garbage collection, when it does not give you these ordinary amenities that common courtesy demands, to say nothing of public revenues, you may turn them out and you may not, because you have overlooked entirely in that turning-out process this body that you are building up when you take off the limitations of the taxes. That is the trouble.

Judge Grosscup has pointed out that one of the evils we are suffering from is the withdrawal of the individual from participation in the great enterprises of the country. He no longer has his money in the large corporations. So the individual **The Withdrawal of the Individual.** voter, by the wonderful extension of our ballot, has drawn away from the taxpaying power, and we build up the one million votes on the one side against one hundred thousand contributors of taxes on the other. It is an evil that is facing us, and that will constantly work out to the detriment of a taxpaying public, unless some reasonable restrictions are placed upon it. In the city of Chicago probably what we need more than anything else is some manner or means whereby we can abolish a great many of these bodies which had their origin in a good cause. That is, a public necessity demanded the creation of some specific and particular work, as, for instance, one block east of this and half a block north, you will find a magnificent bridge,

one of the best of the kind in the world. It was not put in by the city of Chicago, and yet it is on one of the thoroughfares of the city—on State street, one of the greatest thoroughfares in the world. City police walk back and forth on that bridge and police it. The city of Chicago in a measure controls it through its harbor-master. It can determine when it shall be open and when closed, and yet the city did not build it. It

**Unnecessary
Bodies.**

should have done so, but owing to our conditions and the limitations that are placed upon it, another body collected taxes off this and that property, which the city of Chicago should have collected, and built that bridge. Our necessities demanded a bridge and we have the bridge, but the means whereby we got it were so involved that if they are continued as they have been continued in times past, it is only a question of time when, as the statement was made by him who preceded me, the city will be entirely without revenue, and yet the individual citizens and property are paying ample taxes to give a fairly good administration, not of course an ideal administration, but a fairly good one. Those conditions arose out of our constitutional and our legislative restrictions on taxes. But that does not make those restrictions bad, not by any means. We need the restrictions both against extension of franchise and also against ourselves, because a debt is not the best thing in the world. It is very nice to shift a great deal of the responsibility to the succeeding generation and let them wrestle and pay the debt; but after all, the creation of a debt, which seems to be in many municipalities the prime object of their existence, is not the best thing for the municipality. What we want, if I may make my remarks a little practical at this time, and suggest a mild remedy, which, of course, you will see follows by

Examine the analogy what was suggested by one of the speakers—
Assessment Roll. what we want in the city of Chicago is an examination of our assessment roll—that is, the roll on which all of the taxes are finally recapitulated and levied and assessed—before it goes to the collector or the treasurer for collection.

I remember when one controller of the city wrote a letter to the official who is charged with making up that roll and who does make it up, and that particular official had been in office a great many years and had made up a great many rolls, one of which, we will say, footed about \$24,000,000, that he would like to have a statement showing where he had changed that roll and assessed back and given proper credit to the various bodies which were interested in the taxes, and to the tax collector who had gathered in the taxes, because our laws in Illinois require the county official to do that very thing. In other words, he must account for that \$24,000,000 by saying, "So much was collected in cash and so much was lost, etc." Well, the letter was sent, and a reference was made to the law, and the county official came back and said he would like to see the law. The statute was pointed out to him, and he said he had been in office a great many years and never knew that before.

That is the trouble in the city of Chicago. They are solving it in New York, because they are localizing and building up a community interest in the subject of taxation; in other words,

Localizing going back to first principles, back to the individual.
Taxation. What we want to do is to examine this assessment roll

and check back to the assessment roll, and then follow it up by the publication of it, and then to follow that with the collection of it. In other words, to distribute it by small districts in different parts of the town, so that the individual can see how he compares with his neighbor. They are good in stimulating the people; as foreign missions are of great benefit to the Church at home, whether a benefit to the Church abroad or not, because they keep one enthusiastic and working on those things which appeal to and make for the ultimate good. Now you cannot impress upon a movement from the top. You have got to begin at the bottom. But if you can begin with the individual in the Thirty-fifth Ward and let him see what taxes his neighbor is paying, and he finds that he is not paying as much as he should, it will not be very long until the Thirty-fifth Ward gentleman is down at the Board of County Assessors asking some questions that would be very pertinent and very hard for that particular official to answer. But until you arouse that local individuality—in other words, as Mr. Purdy says, until you close that assessment roll by making it small—you escape the individual, and as you don't press the individual upon the public official, there will be no very great yielding in that direction.

Now what we want in Chicago is an examination of that assessment roll. When we have done that, we have gone a long way toward the solving of that most difficult problem, the interesting of the individual in the subject of taxation, otherwise than at the particular time at which the taxes are wrung from him.

THE CHAIRMAN: I am sure no one will regret that Mr. Frost has used up all our time. If any gentleman wishes to ask any questions on this subject, an opportunity is now offered for him to do so.

MR. PURDY: I have made some study of the laws of Illinois and have some little familiarity with them. I had an impression that the reduction of the assessed value so very low, and which within a few years was legalized, had been brought about by some constitutional requirement, a very ancient one (for Illinois), that required the levying of some specific rate of taxes for school purposes, and by and bye that rate raised too much money as the assessment grew, and they kept the assessment arbitrarily down so that they would not raise too much. Am I right about that?

MR. FROST: Not entirely. I tried to make clear what it was that has made the trouble in Illinois. It is the constitutional limitation against the creation of a debt.

MR. PURDY: I understand that perfectly. That is very clear and very interesting, but is it not a fact also that somewhere forty or fifty

FOR GOOD CITY GOVERNMENT

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years ago a provision was put in the constitution with regard to the levying of the taxes to pay a debt incurred for schools, and that tax was something like one mill on all the taxable property in the State on the assessment roll, and then, by and bye, in the course of time, there was more money raised than was needed, and instead of amending the constitution the device was adopted of keeping down the assessment?

MR. FROST: The reduction of assessed value arises from natural causes. If you start out with valuing property at its right value to-day, next year the individual will get that down a little, and the next year a little lower still. Now the way it was legalized was in this respect: in the larger municipalities there is a great demand for money. Naturally these municipalities would raise the amount of their assessments throughout the State to keep down their own and thus shift the burden of taxation in a large way from the country districts, which control our legislatures, to the city; and that is, as a matter of fact, true. The city of Chicago is now paying out of all proportion what it should pay of the State taxation, practically raising about one-quarter of it, because we are putting up values here to raise money, and in the State they are cutting down, in order to get us to pay a great amount of State taxation. The Juul law exempts State taxation. That is not within the five per cent. So also our school buildings; the law was a compromise. The rest of the State agreed to it because they escaped some burden of that taxation. Of course, it is very difficult to make those technical points clear in a brief and limited time, and I have already consumed much more than was coming to me.

THE CHAIRMAN: I am requested by the committee to call the attention of the members of the audience to the program, and to say, on behalf of the City Club, that they will be glad to see persons who are here and their friends at the reception to the President and officers of the Municipal League to-morrow evening, at the close of the President's address. The reception will be given at nine o'clock. The meeting is adjourned.

THURSDAY MORNING SESSION

The third session of the Conference was called to order by President Bonaparte, in the Northwestern University Building, on Thursday, April 28, at 10 o'clock A. M.

THE PRESIDENT: The special subject to be considered at this session of the National Municipal League is the question of nomination reform, and we are first to listen to a paper entitled

Nomination Reform. "Method of Nomination to Public Office: An Historical Sketch," by Dr. Charles B. Spahr, of New York, editor of "Current Literature." Owing to the absence of Dr. Spahr, it will be read by the Secretary.

The Secretary then read Dr. Spahr's paper, on "Method of Nomination to Public Office: An Historical Sketch." (See Appendix.)

THE PRESIDENT: The program this morning is based on an excellent principle, attributed by Sam Weller to Richard III, of business first and pleasure afterwards. You must listen to the business in the shape of these papers before you can have the pleasure of talking about them. Therefore, the discussion of all these papers will take place after their reading has been concluded.

The next paper in order according to the program is a paper on "Recent Primary Legislation and Statutory Provisions Regulating Nominations to Public Elective Office." The paper has been prepared by the Chairman of our Executive Committee, Mr. Horace E. Deming, but Mr. Elliot H. Goodwin, the Secretary of the National Civil Service Reform League, will read it for him.

Mr. Goodwin then read Mr. Deming's paper, entitled "Recent Primary Legislation and Statutory Provisions Regulating Nominations to Public Elective Office." (See Appendix.)

THE PRESIDENT: The next paper will be a "Discussion of the Fundamental Principles which have Governed the Committee in Forming the Proposed Municipal Nominating Law." This is the same suggested statute to which reference has been made in the paper read by Mr. Goodwin, and a discussion of the principles which have governed the committee in preparing it will now be submitted by Mr. Horace E. Deming, its Chairman. [Applause.]

Mr. Deming then read his paper, entitled "Discussion of the Fundamental Principles which have Governed the Committee in Forming the Proposed Municipal Nominating Law." (See Appendix.)

THE PRESIDENT: Those of you who have followed this discussion of the fundamental principles which have governed the committee in framing the proposed municipal nominating law with the laudable purpose of finding as many opportunities as possible of detecting the numerous flaws which unquestionably will be found in that law if subjected to the critical examination of reformers, will be able probably to fit yourselves for that useful function when the proper time comes for it by a careful examination of the law itself, of which I believe there is a supply at the table. I am told the supply is limited, so all must not come at once; but probably those of you who would find it especially useful for your purpose would be kind enough to come up and equip yourselves for future criticism.

I will also make an announcement now which I am induced to do by seeing, with much regret, that sundry persons, after hearing Mr. Deming, left us, and that is, that there will be a meeting of the Executive Committee immediately after the adjournment of this body, in President James' room, on this corridor, and all members of the Executive Committee, at all events, must remain until that time comes, and then adjourn for further labor to the locality indicated.

The next paper on the program is on "The Right of Every Citizen to a Free and Equal Share in the Selection of Candidates for Municipal Elective Office." It was prepared by Mr. George W. Guthrie, of Pittsburgh, and will be read by Mr. John A. Butler, of Milwaukee.

Mr. Butler then read Mr. Guthrie's paper, "The Right of Every Citizen to a Free and Equal Share in the Selection of Candidates for Municipal Elective Office." (See Appendix.)

THE PRESIDENT: A pretty long experience in meetings of this kind has shown me that the usual incident and perhaps the great advantage of having a schedule is to be able to change it. I am informed that we shall not have this afternoon two of the papers that are put down for that occasion, and that there will consequently be an opportunity then to devote the larger part of the session to a discussion which is particularly desired, of this very important question. Therefore, although it will be noted by an examination of this program that the first item for this afternoon was a continuation of the discussion of the report of the nomination reform committee, from which an agile mind might infer that the discussion was to be commenced at this session, I will mention that it will not be commenced at this session, but that the subject matter of discussion will be provided now, and that the criticism will come this afternoon. The next paper on our program was one—

THE SECRETARY: Mr. President, I want to make a suggestion. It is a little after twelve now, and we have had four good, solid papers, which I know we all want to think over, and I have suggested to Mr. Deming, who is to read the next paper, that it might be a good time to adjourn now, and have his paper this afternoon, and have the discussion immediately follow that. It would be an introduction to the discussion, and we would all come to it a little fresher than if we take it up now, and therefore, if it meets with the approval of the meeting, I move we take a recess until two-thirty, unless there is some pressing business or some announcement from Mr. Deming.

MR. DEMING: I think the suggestion is an excellent one. I want to call the attention of those who have seen the printed draft of the proposed law. If you will pay attention for a moment I

A Correction. will try and straighten it out. You observe the fifth line from the bottom of the first printed page, "the proof of the ballot still folded in the ballot box." That should be shifted to the next page just before the last paragraph, the third line from the end of the page, the third page, "The official ballot already given the elector, then tear off the stub and then deposit the ballot still folded, in the ballot box," and you will get some sense.

Then the next two or three lines at the bottom of page two, the line which reads, "Election. Unless he dies or withdraws," that for some unknown reason is a remnant of one of the original suggestions in regard to the act which was cast aside by the committee, and it should have been changed so it will now read, "unless he dies," and erase "or withdraws."

Then goes on, "If this contingency occurs, the vacancy is filled by." Now erase down to and including "petition," and insert in place of it the words, "filled by the committee named in the request for his nomination." So that it now reads: "Unless he dies. If this contingency occur, the vacancy is filled by the committee named in the request for his nomination." And the sections should be Sections 4 and 29, omitting the thirtieth.

MR. STURGES: Mr. President, will you kindly allow me one question as a matter of precaution. The precaution is because I understand the meeting of the Executive Committee is fixed for this noon. I do not know what may be done at that meeting and I want at this time to present an invitation from my city for the next meeting. Mr. Wilson and myself come from Scranton, Pa., the anthracite coal district in the Quayside State, and I want to say that for four years a little league that we have had there has fought valiantly and somewhat successfully in this work. We have now under indictment members of our Council who have taken bribes, and we have them wriggling and writhing their way to the Supreme Court, hoping to escape—but I hope they will not have the good luck of the St. Louis people. We also have under indictment the bribers.

We want your attendance there. I understand you too well to urge my request. The general impression is that heaven favors the strongest artillery, but I think sometimes it might be considered better to be mayor of Cripple Creek than to be a taxpayer in Chicago, and you will get much better audiences in Scranton than you will get in a larger place. You will receive every attention. We have good hotels there. It is not as large a place as Chicago, but it is quite a good place; over a hundred thousand people; and I hope you will come. I want to give you warning, though, before you do come. Four years ago it was said to be the most wide open town in the United States, and I want to say to you, don't you come there with any idea that you can get a drink there on Sunday. You cannot do it, unless you are related to some hotelkeeper by marriage or political affinity. [Laughter.] And don't think that you can stake any of your extra money there. My friend Wilson, who deserves all that can ever be said about him, has made one spot in our State comparatively clean; you cannot even find a slot machine to put a dime into there. It will be dry. But you will help us, and we will try and help you as much as we can.

Now, another thing before I sit down I just want to say this: Our work for the first two or three years was very largely misunderstood, but at one time we secured from fourteen members of our Council a payment of \$200 apiece to certain charities in our city. They were not guilty, they said, but they got tired of their positions and were willing to pay to get out of it. We had a little trouble with our juries, and it was hard to convict them; but after spending \$100,000 the juries agreed, and we

went after our juries, and for the last two or three years we have had juries that would compare favorably with any city or county in the State, and now we can convict nearly every man we get hold of that is anywhere near guilty. Our example has been followed by other associations, so that the Municipal League, the father, has a flourishing progeny of children. We have the Holy Name Society to attend to the dance halls. We have a Taxpayers' Association, which is attending more particularly to these matters in municipal reform. I am in them all, and if any more start I am going in them. So is Mr. Wilson. But our pet scheme is the Municipal League, and that is the one which, with the Board of Trade, wishes your presence in the city of Scranton. I want to say now that our work now is very largely—I hope none of our Chicago and St. Louis people will think less of me—to keep the town morally clean, and we have to use certain means to do it. Now I want to ask, if there are members of the society in this convention who do that sort of work, won't you be kind enough to let me meet you at some time, because I have certain requests to make and suggestions that would be to our mutual interests, and I could not find out who represented that kind of society without taking up your time for the moment. I thank you very much for this opportunity. [Applause.]

THE SECRETARY: I think it is only fitting at this time to follow Mr. Sturges' remarks with a reminder of the fact that at our meeting two years ago at Rochester we had a paper on the Scranton situation by the Rev. Dr. Lansing. Those of us who were there will remember that Dr. Lansing referred to the sterling civic patriotism of one of Scranton's leading citizens, and showed how the continuance of the work depended on the efforts of one man. That one man is the gentleman who has just spoken to us, who is one of the most devoted men in the city of Scranton and in the State of Pennsylvania to the cause of higher civic standards. [Applause.]

THE PRESIDENT: The matter of the selection of the time and place of the next meeting belongs to the Executive Committee. I think, however, I can promise the representative from Scranton a fair field and no favor in the Executive Committee. Up to the present time, according to my experience, it has never been made to the interest of any member of that committee to give either more or less than that to any of the localities that have invited the League, and so long as that excellent absence of temptation continues, I think I can answer for the virtue of the committee resisting the non-existent temptation.

The question properly before the League is on the motion of the Secretary, to take a recess until 2.30 P. M. Is there any other motion which any other gentleman present desires to put before that motion is considered? There appears to be none. Those in favor of taking a recess will say aye.

The motion was carried, and the meeting adjourned until 2.30 o'clock P. M.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

The fourth session of the Conference was called to order in the Northwestern University Building, at 2.40 P. M., on April 28, by President Bonaparte.

THE PRESIDENT: The meeting will please come to order. The first business before the League is a paper prepared by the Chairman of the Executive Committee, also of the Committee on Nomination Reform, on "The Functions and Opportunities of Political Organizations Under the Proposed Nominating Election Law," Mr. Deming.

MR. DEMING: The various members of the committee were asked so many times what would happen to political organizations and what would be the functions of political organizations if such a nominating law were adopted as was recommended, that we prepared a short paper on that specific topic.

Mr. Deming then read a paper on "The Functions and Opportunities of Political Organizations Under the Proposed Nominating Election Law." (See Appendix.)

THE PRESIDENT: The question is now open for discussion. Mr. Holden.

MR. L. E. HOLDEN: In rising to endorse the ideas that have been presented, it is eminently fitting for me to say how much we are indebted to Mr. Deming for the pleasant promises and bright ideas which he has put forth. I do not rise to make any formal address. I wish to endorse to a certain extent most that has been presented to the League. I think

**Divorce of
National Parties
from Municipal
Government.**

there are a few cardinal principles that will bear repeating, and these are some of them: That there must be a divorce case between national politics and municipal government. We have been bearing the bad results of a hundred years of experience in trying to govern cities by national parties. You know and I know that there should be an absolute divorce of the national from the city governments. Now if I am correct in this (and I know that I am), as has been alluded to, there is no logical connection between the government of a city and national politics. Now if that be true certainly we do not want any Democratic sidewalks or Republican sewers unless the sewers are to send down to the sea some of the grafters in Republican cities and some of the boodlers in Democratic cities. [Applause.]

I will give you one reason why I want to have one thought made more definite than I think it has been brought out except in Mr. Guthrie's paper. It seems to me as though the only way to accomplish this divorce permanently is to have these nominations on one and the same day. I do not believe in having the national political parties hold conventions for the election of city officers. I do believe in having every individual who is a voter have a chance to express his opinion as to the selection of the men and the endorsement of the principles which apply logically to

the government of the city. Now you know and I know that nearly all the work finally comes down to technical work. He is a good book-keeper; he is a good engineer; he is a good maker of sidewalks, of streets, and all this technical knowledge comes right down to the selection by the merit system of the right man to do the work that the city wants to have done and have done well.

I will give you a little experience that we have had in Cleveland. For really when you get down to it, all of this work comes from the experience of individuals and individuals in cities. It was only a few years ago that we had a great conflict between two factions in the Republican party in the city of Cleveland. The one was headed by Mark Hanna. It was straight, dignified, honest, effective. The other was headed by Mayor McKissen. It took in all the Democratic-Republicans of that caste and all of the Republican-Democrats, and they worked together and elected Mr. McKissen twice, and they came very near electing him to the United States Senate. Mr. Hanna was only elected by one vote. At one of the nominations there were 23,000 majority votes cast in favor of nominating Mr. McKissen. There were more than 10,000 illegal votes cast for that nomination. Now

Republican-Democrats-Democratic-Republicans.

I don't want to see such things as that repeated. You don't want to see it. But you can't help it. I believe it is impossible to help it if you have elections for Democrats on one day and nominations for Republicans next week. The McKissen Republicans would go over to the Charlie Salen Democrats and one would work with the other. There is no division on principle when it is spelled as it ought to be spelled. And hence if you have this nomination—I am in favor of having the nomination just as has been suggested so fully—so that the nominating election or primaries or whatever you call it, shall be held on one day and that all people and all parties shall come up and vote on that day for a nomination just the same as they would vote at a general election. And in the selection of candidates for city officers more depends upon the man than the policy: the fitness of the man for the place. I would let the two candidates having the largest number of votes be the candidates for the individual office. Take, for instance, the treasurer of the city; there is no special policy connected with the office; it is honesty; it is ability; it is fitness for the position. Now then, Democrats and Republicans or whatever names—I am only using these names, I don't want them used, I wish they could never be used in selecting candidates for city offices—when they come up, let them have the chance to select then a man of their choice in fitness, and then let the two highest candidates be the candidates to be certified to for the election proper. I would support it largely for the corruption which I know does exist in nearly all of our cities in these nominations. I believe we would get nearer to the people. We would get down where a man could not vote for two men for the same office in the nomination; he must vote for this one or that one. If we use the Australian ballot,

the secret ballot, then there can be but one vote. But divide this, send it over a week hence for one party and a week later for another, and then you see these personalities and friendships and saloon influences and all other kind of influences work together for corruption.

Mr. President, I did not intend to talk. I just wanted to express a few words and to look into the faces of these people who have come here, and I thank you for the privilege. [Applause.]

MR. DAVIS: Ecclesiastics, scientists and philosophers arrive at like conclusions of truth by different processes of ratiocination. It is not strange that the committee should arrive at the same conclusion by different processes. Mr. Deming has given the process of thought by which he has arrived at the provisions of this bill. He has in two papers elaborated before you the argument by which his own mind was brought to this conclusion. The fundamental principles which he has so thoroughly elaborated would apply to the primary law which is now in force in the city of Detroit or Wayne County as well as to this bill, and that is a partisan bill. To make clear to you the point I wish to raise, I shall have to go into detail. The Minnesota bill provides separate ballots, and you have to indicate your partisanship on going into the booth and receiving your ballot. The bill which is in force in Detroit and which the Municipal League of Detroit was the means of getting passed—it drew the bill—provides separate columns for each party, all on a blanket ballot. It is a secret ballot. You take the ballot into the booth, but you can only vote in one column. If you wish to nominate Republicans

Arguments for a you vote in the Republican column. If you should **Partisan Ballot.** skip over the line and vote part in one and part in the other, your vote is not counted at all. Now that provides for a secret ballot, and yet it is a partisan ballot. Now Mr. Deming's argument is all in favor of a partisan ballot, but partisan municipal politics. Now municipal politics has not yet developed. We are too young. We have been so governed, and all the laws are so framed, that we are now voting along national party lines, and what will be the development in municipal politics and municipal partisanship, nobody can to-day declare. All of Mr. Deming's argument in this line—I wish to call attention to a great departure in this bill from the Detroit bill, but all of Mr. Deming's argument is expressed here in the synopsis of this bill when, on the first page of the bill, "The municipal nominating law adapts and applies these provisions of law to the needs of a primary or nominating election in order to determine in advance of the municipal election these two questions, 'What theories of public policy have a sufficient popular support to entitle them to compete for control of the municipal government?' " etc. He might probably say that it is not in order to determine, but it may determine in advance of a municipal election these two questions, but not necessarily so. The provision of this bill allows the voter in going into the booth to vote—if you will turn, those who have copies, to the sample page of the ballot—for mayor. The name is given for mayor,

John Weiss, Socialist, etc. This bill permits a man to vote for a Socialist for mayor and for a Municipal Ownership man for councillor. Now, why? Why should he? Why not keep along partisan lines? Even in municipal politics, why not cling to that idea that the theory to be decided at the nominating election is the object and sole object of the nominating election? Why not keep to that point? For this very reason, that policy largely concerns or should concern—it is true it does not in all cities—but it should concern the legislative department. That is, what laws shall be enacted? The administrative part is largely confined to specific execution of those laws, and in the administrative department it is very proper that manhood and character should be the elements upon which we decide the fitness of a man for his position. It is not true that the theory or policy of the government is the sole proposition at the primary election. In that way I have differed from Mr. Deming in this matter, and I just wish to explain this in order to open up the discussion and let the people see the point if I make it clear. If I have not, you must excuse me, for I am only a business man.

THE PRESIDENT: The object of Mr. Davis, as I understand, was to open up the discussion. I trust that the discussion will do something after it has been opened up. The Chair will be very happy to recognize some other gentleman who desires to open it up a little further.

MR. HUGO S. GROSSER, of Chicago: It seems to me after a cursory examination of the bill that, as it is presented to us—especially with the sample ballots—it is but a compromise that Mr. Deming offers. We are talking about and his subject is—the obliteration of national politics in municipal government, and still in the sample ballot it says, "For mayor, John Miller, Democrat," and "John Smith, Republican," and the other denominations. I cannot see why it should be necessary to state to what party the candidate belongs; if we wish to obliterate party lines from municipal politics, simply nominate a man without reference to the party. It seems to me illogical to obliterate party politics, and then put the party's name right behind the name of the candidate. [Applause.]

THE SECRETARY: Mr. President, I should like to offer just a few remarks on that subject. There is no doubt as to the constitutional right of any group of citizens to select a candidate and support him, whether for the office of mayor, tax collector, or whatever other office it may be. It is true you may say to that group of men, "You must not put the label after your man's name on the ballot." You may eliminate the label "Republican," the label "Democratic," the label "Socialist-Labor," or whatever other label it may be, but you cannot eliminate the fact that certain groups of men will support certain men for the office of mayor or whatever other office is to be filled. Therefore, so long as we have national parties, we are, it seems to me, quite likely and inevitably to have those parties supporting certain men

for local offices. You may deny the Republicans and the Democrats or the Prohibitionists or any other national party the right to put their label on, but you cannot deny them the right to have a candidate or to agree to support Mr. John Jones or Mr. John Smith, or whoever their man may be. Therefore it seems to me that we must bear that fact in mind in the consideration of this or any other law. As I understand the recommendation of the Committee, it is that if you are going to have a Republican candidate you ought to have that man who is the real choice of the Republican electors, and if you are going to have a Democratic candidate for mayor, you ought to have a candidate who is the real choice of the Democrats. How are you going to get at that? By having this preliminary nominating election open to all the electors freely and equally so that they can determine in advance who is the man that the majority of the Democrats, the majority of the Republicans, the majority of the Prohibitionists or whatever their party may be, want for that particular office. Therefore it seems to me that the objection of Mr. Grosser does not go to the merits of the case. He is discussing the question of labels. Mr. Deming's suggestion would be complete if you left the labels off. They are simply to facilitate matters, not part of the fundamental scheme. But the real thing is, that there is provision made to determine, just as we determine now at the general election the question of which policy shall predominate, at this preliminary election, to determine which candidate shall bear the particular label or be the candidate of a particular party. In that way it seems to me you provide for an adequate expression of opinion on the part of the electors, and the question of party designation or label is simply a minor or incidental matter.

PROFESSOR BEMIS: It strikes me that to complete the admirable study we have been listening to to-day, all of which it seems to me we endorse, we need to emphasize the point, which I think has not been brought out, but which in the attempt to carry out some of these theories (not all of them) in your policies, has been found very important, and that is that this whole scheme of direct nomination will succeed almost inversely with the number of men to be nominated at a given time. We nominate and vote for altogether **Multiplicity of Elective Offices.** too many men at an election. We elect a county coroner, for example, or a county registrar, or a county clerk, all of whom are administrative officers who should be appointed by the county board. We do the same thing in city offices and in state offices. I was talking the other day on this subject with one whose political experience has been quite considerable in another State, and who believes in this principle of direct nominations, and has been instrumental in its having it tried to a certain extent in his own party in that city. But he says it worked very well when there are only a few men to be nominated at a time. But when you have got to fill a ticket with thirty or forty different names, it is then exceedingly difficult to have any discrimination on the part of the voters. I would therefore

suggest that as a sort of supplement to the recommendations of the committee (perhaps they have covered it and I may have failed to notice it) that they urge a reduction in the number of elective officers.

MR. DEMING: This is offered for the consideration of the National Municipal League, and if adopted would become a part of the affirmative programs adopted by the National Municipal League. The National Municipal League already recommend a city charter in which only two officers are ever elected. The rest are all appointed, the mayor and the members of the council; and the fundamental principles of such a great reform as this should not be lost sight of, because to put them into effect we will have to labor to reduce the undue number of elective municipal officials.

PROFESSOR CHARLES E. MERRIAM, of Chicago: In the first place, as to the matter of what is called free voting, or what is sometimes termed the open primary. In accordance with the provisions of this law a man may go into a booth and he may mark a ballot for one party for one office and for another party for another office, and for a third party for a third office, if there were so many offices to be filled. And if there are only two,

he would only have two choices. That is, a Democrat **Free Voting.** may vote for the Democratic candidate for mayor, and he may vote for the Republican candidate for city attorney (if you have such an office), and he may vote for a Socialist nominee for the city comptroller. It seems to me that unless you wish to abolish party affiliations and wipe them out entirely, this is rather a disastrous feature to introduce.

In Minnesota, as I said, after one experience with this so-called open primary, the citizens of that State abandoned that feature of their law and came back to what Mr. Davis called attention to, which I understand is the party feature of the Detroit law. That is to say, a man may vote for nominees on the Republican ticket, or he may vote for nominees on a Democratic ticket, but he cannot vote for both of them at the same time and in the same primaries. If you are going to hold a party responsible for anything at all, you ought to allow that party to choose its own nominees. For instance, suppose you have the two organizations, Republican and Democratic, and a bad candidate is put up by the former. They may say that the Democrats did that, and very likely they would. To a certain extent they do that now. There is a great deal of that sort of thing going on. But this law, it seems to me, would merely intensify that rather unfortunate feature of the proposition.

A second detail of the law that seems to me to be somewhat objectionable is the fact that it seems to fail to provide in any way for any sort of party continuity. On the second page the law makes provision for principles for which the individual stands. But as I understand the law, if, for instance, one party claim to be the Citizens' League this year, another party and an entirely different and distinct succession of men

Party

Continuity.

might claim to be the Citizens' League in the following year. Am I correct?

MR. DEMING: There is absolutely no provision for the continuation of political parties in municipal politics.

PROFESSOR MERRIAM: In other words, it means the annihilation, root and branch, of any political organization?

MR. DEMING: The law does not look out for that.

PROFESSOR MERRIAM: So far as the law contemplates anything at all, it contemplates the utter elimination of party organization.

MR. DEMING: No, it does not contemplate their elimination. It discards them. It leaves them to take care of themselves.

PROFESSOR MERRIAM: It provides that they may be utterly eliminated, or provides that one party may steal at the next election the designation that another party bears now.

MR. DEMING: No party can steal any designation, because the designation gets on the ballot by means of a full party vote.

PROFESSOR MERRIAM: I don't understand what you mean by a full party vote.

MR. DEMING: It is a fundamental principle in this bill that no organization shall have the use of a political name on the ballot, no organization shall have it. But if that label can get enough votes, that label and those principles will be considered on election day.

PROFESSOR MERRIAM: If, for instance, then, we have two parties in Chicago, one the organization, so called, and the other the "antis," and each of us had two sets of principles this year, the next campaign, if the organization woke up early enough, they could put in their title as the anti ticket. That would be a very simple case, but in the course of years you could confuse and tangle people so they would not know for whom to vote.

MR. DEMING: What harm would it do, inasmuch as the fact that the organization tried to get the advantage would be no disadvantage to the people who believed in the principles?

PROFESSOR MERRIAM: But the organization makes a specialty of confusing the issue wherever possible. There might be three nominations or four. If there were only two, they would probably create another for that particular purpose.

MR. DEMING: Then they would not get on the ballot, because they would not get enough votes.

PROFESSOR MERRIAM: You have no provision here except for a blank number of votes required.

MR. DEMING: We leave that to each city. If Chicago is greatly troubled in the way you speak of, you can have enough votes to prevent that log-rolling.

PROFESSOR MERRIAM: You have no provision for that here.

MR. DEMING: We leave that to each locality. We indicate there should be a percentage, but we don't attempt to tell Chicago what the percentage should be.

PROFESSOR MERRIAM: And another thing: It seems to me difficult to provide a percentage that would cover all unforeseen emergencies. You might make it very high and then shut out desirable factions, or very low and let in those you didn't want.

MR. DEMING: The theory is that when we get to election day factions will be eliminated and you will do business. You do your factional work at the nominating, and all these plans and schemes are public property on nominating election day. On election day you do business. The faction does not get on to the ballot on election day if you are wise enough to provide that no set of principles, whatever its label, shall be recognized on election day, unless it polls a certain percentage of the vote on nominating day. That gets rid of your difficulty.

PROFESSOR MERRIAM: It is a very common thing, however, for three factions in the party to poll quite a respectable part of the total poll. I do not think that an ordinary city would want to provide that only two should appear. It seems to me probable that at least three would appear. Three would be perfectly sufficient to obscure the issue.

Now the last objection I make is to direct primaries in general. I am not prepared to say that the direct primary is a failure. On the other hand, I should be very careful about saying **The Success of Direct Primaries.** that the direct primary so far as tried has been a complete and unqualified success. Nothing is an unqualified success. I would not want to say it was a complete success. As far as I have looked over the question of direct primaries, it has met in most cases only with moderate success, and in most cases has totally broken down. In the city of Cleveland, for example, I am told that the direct primary law worked out most disastrously. If any gentleman is here from Cleveland, I presume he can bear me out. In Minneapolis, where the law was being tried, the men who studied the question looked on it with a great deal of doubt and uncertainty, as I understand it. In Indianapolis, where the law has been tried, it has not proven anything like the success that was expected of it.

MR. DEMING: There never yet has been a "party" primary under any law in the United States. There never has been anything yet but an "organization" primary.

PROFESSOR MERRIAM: So far as the principle under which direct primaries have been tried in Minneapolis and in Indianapolis, also in Louisville, Ky., they have not proved in any way a pronounced success. They were tried last year in Baltimore, and Mayor Hayes, the mayor who ran the city without graft, was defeated, as I understand it, at a Democratic primary for renomination, and the machine triumphed over him, although he conducted what was considered to be an eminently successful administration. In Southern States, of course, the primary has been tried; but, of course, you have not a bi-partisan system there. In the country districts the primaries have been tried with more or less success,

but in the country we don't have the difficulty that we do in the cities. And the cities are what we are striking at.

I merely wanted to open up the discussion and to raise the question whether the direct primary is the unqualified success that has been hoped. It is like the Australian ballot and other schemes which have not proven the success the authors hoped they would be. [Applause.]

MR. DAVID PERCY JONES, of Minneapolis: All I wanted to say, as a Minneapolis resident, is that we have tried the primary nomination law in two ways. On its first adoption, Republicans and Democrats met in common caucus, and each man could elect to cross either Republicans or Democrats; but the majority of his crosses indicated his choices, and he lost all the minority crosses that he put upon the

Minneapolis
Primarys

tickets; so that Dr. Ames was nominated by Democrats. Dr. Ames having become converted to Republicanism at that time, the Democrats and his friends said they wanted him without any reference to his party affiliations as the nominee, and so Democrats plumped their crosses on the tickets that had Dr. Ames' name at the head, which caused his nomination and subsequent election. Then the party *per se* were glad apparently to vote for Dr. Ames as the Republican nominee, although given to the party by Democratic votes. Then we changed the law. We are now operating this way: Republicans and Democrats attend a common caucus, but Republicans must vote for Republicans, and be responsible for the Republican nominees. And the Democrats must vote for the Democratic candidates and be responsible for their nominations. Now, what was the result of that? We have had one election under that modified law. Under that law we nominated a Republican candidate for mayor and a Democratic candidate, and in a city nominally of ten thousand Republican majority there were enough changes in the party affiliations, as demonstrated by the vote, to elect the Democrat by six or eight thousand—I forget what the majority was now—over the Republican, simply because the Democratic nominee was discovered to be the better man of the two. This showed there was a good deal of independent voting, and we believe the last system we have arrived at is the better of the two. So much so, that I want to emphasize only one thing in sitting down; that is, we have tried the system adopted. There is no discussion of it. We think we are all right, we are getting along well, there is very little discussion of it at all; it is accepted and adopted as the best method of arriving at good results that we can get.

MR. W. J. DEAN: I should like to ask Mr. Jones one question: Are persons who come to the primary required to declare in advance of casting their vote which party they belong to, under this new law?

MR. JONES: They are. They must declare that.

MR. DAVIS: Under the Detroit law they are not required to do so.

THE PRESIDENT: This is most interesting. I regret very much that the time of the League is not sufficient to warrant me in asking that it be

prolonged. I may mention one or two matters before we pass from this subject, which I think ought to be called to the attention of the League in connection with the discussion of a subject of so much importance.

One of the speakers referred to the experience in Baltimore more under the primary election law introduced there; Primaries. it would take me too long to go into the details of the history or enactment of the law. It was unquestionably supposed at the time that it was adopted that it would prove a dead letter. I mean it was supposed by the persons who allowed it to be adopted. As a matter of fact, however, owing to circumstances for which the organization that I more especially represent here is in some measure responsible, it proved to work in practice very differently from what the practical politicians had expected, and although the result of it was the defeat of Mayor Hayes, it resulted in the nomination of the man in the Democratic party who was subsequently elected, and who was decidedly favored by the reform element in Maryland politics. So far as its operation in that election is concerned, it is to be set down on the side of the successes and not of the failures of this primary election. I do not wish to say, however, it is by any means a perfect law.

Now as I gave myself the floor—you know the Lord Chancellor in the House of Lords determines who is entitled to the floor and always awards it to himself when he wants it (which is very frequently)—as I have awarded myself the floor, I will take advantage of it to call to the attention of the League an objection to the elimination or even the weakening of the action of national political parties in municipal affairs, which was made by a gentleman of somewhat erratic mind but undoubted ability who has been in the past a very good friend of reform, although his views would probably not be orthodox in this League. He suggested to me that he was thoroughly opposed to anything of that sort, because he believed it was the only thing which prevented the arraying of parties determined by the social condition of the people. In other words, that the line of political cleavage would be horizontal, as he expressed it, instead of vertical. He believed that we should have in our American cities parties of the rich and of the poor, if we had not the parties of the Republicans and the Democrats. I am going to give you my own views on the subject of partisanship this evening. I am giving you the views now of another person altogether.

I will also call to the attention of the League a proposition that has been made far more radical than that of my friend, Mr. Deming, and which may at first sight strike some of those present as a little singular; but I think reflection will show you that there is a great deal in it which deserves consideration. It is that each of the two principal parties (all others being regarded as negligible quantities for the purposes of this comparison), the Republicans and the Democrats, be allowed, by a perfectly fair primary election, held at the same time, under all the safeguards of fairness that can be imposed, each to elect a boss. The boss

"Elect the Bosses." of the Republican party shall be authorized to make the Republican nominations for all offices, federal, state and municipal. The boss of the Democratic party shall make the Democratic nominations for all similar offices. But the election of those two bosses themselves shall really be determined by the actual votes of everybody who chooses to call himself a Republican or a Democrat and take part in the primaries. I am not giving you my own ideas, I disclaim the rights of authorship for the plan, but it has been suggested as being one that would accomplish in the long run what is done now; that there is one man after all, or a very small number of men, who after all really select the party candidates, and that the only difference between that man would be that the Warwicks, the king-makers, would be themselves fairly chosen at a party primary, and the person suggesting it had the idea that the intelligence of the American citizen was generally adequate to choosing one person at an election, but that it broke down under the task of choosing a great many. [Laughter.]

I am requested to announce that the Executive Committee, at its meeting held immediately after the last adjournment, under the authority conferred by the constitution, added to its own number by the election of four additional members, namely, Messrs. H. N. Wheeler, Cambridge, Mass.; J. P. Baldwin, New Orleans, La.; L. E. Holden, Cleveland, O.; and H. L. McCune, of Kansas City, Mo. As it is necessary to initiate these gentlemen and also to discharge other duties of importance, the Executive Committee will hold a meeting immediately after the adjournment of this meeting of the League, and all members of the Executive Committee are requested to attend in the President's room, on this corridor.

I have been requested, before proceeding with the regular program, to give Mr. Steffens the floor for five minutes on a matter to which he wishes to draw the attention of the League. [Applause.]

MR. J. LINCOLN STEFFENS: I want merely to make a correction of a report that was rendered at the last conference at Detroit. It was in a report on St. Louis, and the complaint was that in my independent report I had failed to note the fact that there had been for some years in St. Louis a reform movement, and that Mr. Folk, whose work I had described, was a result of reform, and not the beginning. The man who made that report is dead. Nevertheless, I would like to make the correction, and I got my facts from that man, who was one of the leading men on the reform side in St. Louis. It is true that there had been a reform movement in that city for a number of years. It is true they had made such progress that they were able in some cases to dictate a large part of the ticket that was to be voted for. And in the meeting of the bosses and reformers at which the ticket was named that finally resulted in the election of Mr. Folk, the reformers told me that they had named the whole

ticket, and that when they came to discuss it, the bosses, Mr. Hawes and Mr. Butler, said, "But you have taken everything. Give us one man." They thought it over, and they said they thought that was no more than right, so they said, "Very well, what office do you want?" "Circuit attorney." "Who is your man?" "Joe Folk." [Laughter.]

Now that was the reason I didn't say much about the reform movement of St. Louis. [Laughter.] I think that is all I want to say.

MR. PURDY: I beg to offer the following preamble and resolution:

"WHEREAS, In most of the States of the Union
Municipal there is serious complaint of the existing system of
Taxation. local taxation and efforts for improvement are generally spasmodic and unorganized; and

"WHEREAS, It is desirable that such effort should be coordinated and proceed on related lines, and that similar movements should be stimulated in all the States in which changes are needed;

"Resolved, That the Executive Committee be and it is hereby authorized to appoint a committee on local taxation, which shall consider what changes may be necessary and desirable in the constitutions and laws of the various States, and make a report setting forth the general principles which should govern such amendments at the next meeting of this League."

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

THE PRESIDENT: The next business in order is a paper on "The Municipal Situation in Cambridge, Massachusetts," by Mr. H. N. Wheeler, President of the Good Government League of that city. Mr. Wheeler. [Applause.]

MR. WHEELER: I cannot flatter myself that an account of the affairs of Cambridge, Mass., a not very wicked city, of only about one hundred thousand inhabitants, can be of any special interest to you. If, however, you will kindly imagine to yourselves as I proceed that I am trying to illustrate a few fundamental principles of more or less universal application, you may find it a little more easy to listen to what I have to say.

Mr. Wheeler then read his paper on "The Municipal Situation in Cambridge, Massachusetts." (See Appendix.)

The Secretary then presented the papers of Dr. Delos F. Wilcox on "The Municipal Program," (see Appendix) and of Professor James Mavor on "Municipal Trading." (See Appendix.)

THE PRESIDENT: Before calling for the next paper, Vice-President James requests that he have an opportunity to make an announcement.

DR. JAMES: The members of the League know that the formal program closes Friday evening with a banquet. We have invited some of the members of the League and delegates to address our students at Evanston on Saturday morning, and I desire on behalf of the University to extend a very hearty and cordial invitation to all the delegates to this Convention, to come out on Saturday morning and remain through the

exercises at College Hall, and then lunch, the gentlemen at the Evanston Club, and the ladies at the Ladies' Hall. The train which you will have to leave on in order to get there on time leaves at 9.30 from the Northwestern Depot. We will have a representative there to meet you.

MR. HOOKER: I would just like to add that the members, as indicated on the skeleton program, are very welcome to the facilities of the City Club, the address of which is given here, and also to call to the notice of the members the reception this evening on the floor above, after the President's annual address in this room, ladies being cordially invited on both occasions.

THE PRESIDENT: We will now listen to the paper which is headed "The New Orleans Situation; What a Partisan Administration Has Done." We will hear from Mr. J. Pemberton Baldwin, one of the Civil Service Commissioners of New Orleans. [Applause.]

MR. BALDWIN: It is a far cry from Cambridge, Mass., to New Orleans, and perhaps the conditions that prevail in the respective municipalities are even further apart. I shall put before you what New Orleans has done under a partisan municipal administration, with the idea that must be borne in mind that the crudity of conditions that prevails has been struggled with and some method of immediate relief has been sought, and that method of immediate relief perhaps has led to certain conditions which would not have prevailed, and perhaps will not prevail in a community which has had a longer experience with civil service reform and with the movement toward good government.

Mr. Baldwin then read his paper on "The New Orleans Situation." (See Appendix.)

THE PRESIDENT: I am requested to call the attention of all the critics of the municipal nominating law, to ask them to send their criticisms to Mr. Woodruff as soon as they can reduce them to writing. Not to-day or to-morrow, but as soon as their leisure permits, so that the committee which has this matter in charge will have the advantage of the views of everyone who has been able to give any thought to it.

THE SECRETARY: I wish to make another announcement, which the President is too modest to make. The President's address will be delivered in this hall this evening, at eight o'clock. It is to be hoped that all who are now present will be present this evening. [Applause.]

PROFESSOR MERRIAM: I wish to say in regard to the session to-morrow afternoon, which is to be held at the University of Chicago, that the most convenient line of transportation for the delegates will be the Illinois Central. Those of you who are staying at the Auditorium will find it most convenient to take the train at the Van Buren street station; or, if you take the train from here, at the Randolph street station. Both of these are on the lake front. The exercises will be held in the chapel of Cobb Hall. Or, if you don't want to go by the Illinois Central and want to get an illustration of another kind of transportation, you can take the Cottage Grove avenue car.

The Conference then adjourned until 8 P. M.

THURSDAY EVENING SESSION

The fifth session of the Conference was held at the Northwestern University Building, at 8 o'clock p. m., on April 28, President Frank H. Scott, of the City Club, in the Chair.

THE CHAIRMAN: You are here to-night to hear President Bonaparte. There could be no propriety in any lengthy introductory remarks by me. All of you who are here present know Mr. Bonaparte. You know, if not him personally, you know of the work to which he has for so many years devoted his talent, not only in municipal reform, but also in civil service reform.

I have great pleasure in introducing to you Mr. Bonaparte, who will speak on "Partisanship in Municipal Government."

Mr. Bonaparte then delivered the President's address, on "Partisanship in Municipal Government." (See Appendix.)

FRIDAY MORNING SESSION

The sixth session of the Conference was called to order by President Bonaparte, at 10 o'clock a. m., on Friday, April 29, in the Northwestern University Building.

THE PRESIDENT: The meeting will please come to order. Our good friend, W. D. Foulke, lately United States Civil Service Commissioner, who has been very much interested in all movements of the general character of that of this League, told me on one occasion that when he was (as not unfrequently happened to him) called upon to address an audience which had not wholly responded to the appeals of those who got it up, he was quite accustomed to hear the local committee say, "There are not nearly as many as we hoped to have here, but they are our very best people." [Laughter.] The gentlemen who read papers this morning will remember that, in connection with the audience, and also remember that after the reception of last evening a little tardiness in getting up is, if not excusable, easily explained.

The first proceeding will be the report of the committee appointed in 1905 on Uniform Accounting and Statistics, which will be made by Dr. E. M. Hartwell, City Statistician of Boston.

Dr. Hartwell then presented his report. (See Appendix.)

THE PRESIDENT: There is to be, I believe, an opportunity for discussion of all these papers. The one just read hardly suggests any opportunity for criticism, and eulogy would be unnecessary.

The next paper on the program is one on "What Constitutes Reasonable Uniformity in Municipal Accounting?" by Dr. F. A. Cleveland.

Dr. Cleveland then read a paper on "What Constitutes Reasonable Uniformity in Municipal Accounting?" (See Appendix.)

THE PRESIDENT: I am informed by the Secretary that Mr. Chase is not here to present his paper on "Practical Application of the National

Municipal League Schedules." The Secretary will explain to us how much of that paper can be presented to the audience for its edification.

THE SECRETARY: Mr. Chase has written a letter expressing his very great regret at not being here. He is busily engaged in auditing the accounts of Malden, which are about to be established on a uniform basis, and he is also about at the limit of his physical capacity, so I think it was wise for him not to come. He has sent a most interesting paper which I think may be read in abstract.

The Secretary then read Mr. Chase's paper on "The Practical Application of the National Municipal League Schedules." (See Appendix.)

MR. L. E. HOLDEN: May I state here that the Ohio law is traceable directly back to the work of this organization in its meetings in Cleveland, and the action of the Chamber of Commerce in Cleveland, and the action of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of Ohio.

THE PRESIDENT: Our next paper is on "Uniform Accounting: Its Relation to Comparative Municipal Statistics," by Mr. L. G. Powers, of the United States Census Bureau.

Mr. Powers then read his paper on "Uniform Accounting: Its Relation to Comparative Municipal Statistics." (See Appendix.)

THE PRESIDENT: I think there can be no doubt that the paper just read and some of the facts set forth in it illustrate very clearly the necessity for improved and uniform methods of municipal accounting and statistics. I think also that they may be said to illustrate the necessity for certain other things in municipal government. For example, a little more honesty on the part of public officials, a little more activity on the part of reformers and a little more readiness on the part of grand juries, petty juries and public prosecutors to discharge their proper duties.

The several questions presented to the League in the different papers which have been read are now open for discussion, and the Chair will be happy to recognize anyone who wishes to add to the already considerable knowledge of the subject which we possess.

MR. GROSSER: I have, in listening to the various papers this year, and in reading the papers of past years, observed one thing: The League has treated the entire subject of the municipal accounting as an end to be reached. Now that may, from the standpoint of the professional accountant, be the aim. I look at this proposition from another point of view, from the view of the statistician, and as such I consider the whole question of accounting only as a means, not as the end to be reached. Only in

one paper (that of Professor Cleveland) have I heard
A Means or or has he pointed out what we should measure govern-
an End. ment by, and he says there—he uses the word, "To service rendered." By simply uniform methods of accounting, we will never be able to measure the service rendered, because the accounts of all the cities may be uniform and we may measure the amount of expenditures in one city with those in another city. We would thereby disclose the fact that one city may spend five million dollars for

street cleaning and another city one million. That certainly discloses the fact that one city spends more than the other for that particular thing, but it shows us nothing whatever as to the amount of service rendered for the amount spent, and I should think that in promoting the cause of good government and in giving the public that which it really does demand. Ordinary men—and I believe the majority of reformers even—are not accountants; they do not care very much whether the account is put up in this shape or in that shape, so long as it is rendered in a comprehensible manner, in a manner that the average citizen can understand; in a manner that does not require this deep study and experience of the professional accountant to disclose the financial state of the city, as is the case in the reports of most of our cities at present.

A very few years ago I had the pleasure of challenging the comptroller of the city by making the statement that he himself could not tell by his published report what the financial standing of the city was. How much less can the ordinary citizen judge from that. I think the next step should be the collection, not only of the financial statistics, but the collection of all other statistics, the statistics of service rendered, and then measure the service rendered by the amount of expenses.

It is not necessary to compare one city with another, because conditions vary very largely; but you can, by comparing the expense of a city in one year with that in another year, get an exact measure of the work done, and thereby promote good government. It is presumed that the annual report of each department should serve to illustrate just what I have said. I have gathered the municipal reports for a number of years of every large city in the world, but I have as yet failed to find the one that gives us that in such shape that we can understand it. It seems that work of that character, just as much as the work of financial accounting, should be done by special men who are trained in that line of work, and thereby we are led to dwell upon the importance of American municipalities establishing regular bureaus of

Bureaus of Statistics. statistics. There are now in existence only two, in Boston and Chicago. I understand that Baltimore started to establish a bureau,¹ and I received a letter from a supervisor of San Francisco a few days ago expressing the desire to establish such a bureau. The public at large, the taxpayers of the city, wish to be instructed, and should be instructed, in all the workings of their city government. The knowledge of public administration is so limited among the people at large, that even men who take a special interest in municipal government know very little about their own government in their own city. The city of Chicago, for instance, if you will pardon me for pointing out my own bureau, is publishing, not perfectly yet, the statistics of each department of the public service within the city, month by month. Every department is bound to furnish to the bureau of statistics the

¹ Baltimore had one, and then abolished it.—EDITOR.

amount of work done. We compile the figures and publish them. We started out to publish them monthly, and then bi-monthly, and now are publishing them quarterly, the same as the city of Boston. We find, in the first place, the effect upon the administration itself is good. Each department gathers its statistics; every officer is required to make daily reports to his department, and the whole work is reported at the end of the month to the bureau of statistics. It is published every three months, and the figures are made known. It makes the employee of the city more careful in his work, and when the end of the year comes around and the head of the department is required to make his annual report, he will arrive at figures of the amount of work done. If you have reliable statistics of the amount of service rendered, then by uniform methods of accounting you can arrive at a fair and just comparison of the efficiency of our municipal governments. [Applause.]

VICE-PRESIDENT JAMES: Mr. President, we have the pleasure here of the presence of Senator Francis W. Parker, chairman of the Committee of Public Accounts of the last legislature of Illinois. I think every one will be very glad to hear a few words from him on this subject.

SENATOR PARKER: I am quite willing to take advantage of this opportunity, because I think possibly I can make a suggestion that will be of some value. At the last session of the legislature I happened to be chairman of the Committee on Public Accounts of the Senate. I was particularly interested in the accounts of the State departments and State institutions of Illinois, which I think need attention quite as much as the accounts of municipalities. But there came before the body a uniform accounting bill, I suppose you would call it, for municipalities. I think it must have been very much like the Ohio bill. At that time I was less informed than I am now touching municipal accounts and their importance, particularly the importance of uniformity, so that I was not in very good position as chairman of the committee, to treat the subject, but the practical difficulty was this in that committee—and in connection with other members of the Senate who discussed the matter with me, I found there was a great doubt and uncertainty or a suspicion. The members of the legislature, or very many of them at least, are supposed to be venal and corrupt. But there is another side to that. It is very likely that a man in the legislature may be thought to be venal and corrupt when he is not, and it behooves him to be very careful that he is not connected with something that is doubtful in its character. What they were afraid of was this: They said, "Now here is a measure that prescribes a uniform system of accounting, that therefore probably means that some people who are interested in accounting are behind it, and when this bill has been passed, then in order that the city may establish this system of municipal accounts, it will be necessary for them to employ some particular firm or person in some part of the country." And therefore the member will say to himself, "Well, I must go very slow about this, because if this is what

they mean there may be something irregular about it, and I ultimately shall be charged with corrupt action." You may think that unimportant, but it does influence people who are not familiar with this question of accounts, and of course a large number of the members are from rural districts, and the whole subject is one that is entirely in the air with them.

Now the next thing, the uniform system of bookkeeping, if I understand bookkeeping, called for, was a uniform system of books, which means perhaps a set of books made by some one concerned; and not only that, but they were to be prescribed, as I remember it, by the accounting department, which would be instituted and set up as a department of the affairs of the State of Illinois. There again was something a man had to be very cautious about, because if he was about to pass a bill which would result in giving a vast amount of profit or business to some concern that manufactured blank books and blanks, why naturally it would be a thing that would require serious consideration. Again these men were confronted with a proposition like this. They were told to pass a bill that would impose upon municipalities a change in their system of account. Now, in the first place, in this State and most of the states we are very much wedded to the doctrine of home rule. Most of us don't know what it means, but we believe in it [laughter], and anything that undertakes to interfere with the operation of the local government agency is something adverse to home rule; and so they were confronted with that. A man said, "Well, here I pass this bill, and then if I am Senator from Joliet the municipal authorities there will find that they suddenly have to change their method of keeping books and have to employ an accountant and settle with the department at Springfield and buy a set of books manufactured at some particular place by some particular person, and I shall get into serious trouble." And so he would, under those conditions.

I point out some matters that made it very difficult to make progress with that bill. This is what is in my mind: I feel I know now more about this subject than I did before, and as I shall be in the Senate next year, it will give me much satisfaction to assist in furthering a movement which is plainly of so great a consequence. But we will meet the same difficulties, and what was in my mind, as I have listened to the very interesting papers and discussion, was this: Can somebody who is familiar with the subject furnish literature of such a nature that it will be easy to settle these doubts and difficulties on the part of the members of the legislature? Of course it cannot be true that this is a scheme to impose the services of some particular accounting firm on all the cities of the State of Illinois. It cannot be true that this is a scheme to force a set of books that can only be manufactured by one firm on the people of the State of Illinois. And it must be true, as the gentleman who represents the Census Department seems to conclusively prove that the local accounting agents likely do favor such a scheme and would gladly adopt it if it came to them in the right shape. If those things are true, a proper form of

literature and proper discussion of the subject would enable me and others who may be interested, to properly present it to the members, would remove these objections and give us an opportunity to properly argue the bill on its merits, and I believe if something of that kind could be furnished to us, assuming we are all very ignorant in Illinois on this subject, it would go far to making it possible to secure legislation in which you are so much interested, and I think justly so. I thank you, Mr. Chairman.

THE SECRETARY: I think it can be said with entire propriety that there are several score of different firms of accountants who feel that they could install a satisfactory system of accounts, so I don't think the Senator need have any fear on the ground that legislation of that character would be in the interest of any particular firm, and, moreover, a great many of the cities that have adopted the schedules have done so through their own municipal accountants in the auditor's or comptroller's office.

THE PRESIDENT: Probably it would be relatively easy to demonstrate to the average member of the legislature that, strange to say, there is nothing in this plan which could be properly called an exhibition of practical statesmanship. [Laughter.]

MR. HOWARD C. BECK, of Detroit: I would just like to make a little report on behalf of the city of Detroit. We are just about undertaking the getting up of a new set of books for the city of Detroit, a uniform accounting plan, and we will probably adopt, to a very large extent, the general scheme suggested by your committee, and which I think can be very profitably done. The committee on ways and means of the common council is very much interested in the matter, and also the mayor, and they have placed this subject in the hands of the comptroller's department for putting it in proper shape, and I simply want to report that we are making progress along that line, and I trust that in another year we shall be able to report the practical completion of the work. [Applause.]

MR. F. N. HARTWELL: At this point I would like to report for the Auditing Committee that the vouchers of the Treasurer have been audited and found correct.

THE PRESIDENT: We are very glad to have this report of the Auditing Committee. It shows the practical adoption of the principles advocated by its committee on accounting, and if no other order is given in the premises, it will be filed and referred to the present Executive Committee.

MR. HOOKER: The Banquet Committee has arranged to have an informal reception in the parlors of the Auditorium to-night from 6.30 to 7.00. The banquet is scheduled for 7.00, and I would like to ask your assistance in locating visiting delegates whom I have not yet been able to find, and who therefore have not received tickets to the banquet. I wish you would endeavor to bring us together somehow. I am afraid that owing to the attractions of Chicago, which have drawn some of the

people away from the session to meet this afternoon, that I may have missed some of the visiting delegates.

MR. DEMING: I should like to offer the following resolution:

"In view of the increased interest in the subject of municipal accounting and statistics and the rapid enlargement of the work in which the committee is engaged;

"Resolved, That the Executive Committee be authorized to continue the Committee on Uniform Municipal Accounting and Statistics and to fill vacancies therein, and to add to its membership."

THE PRESIDENT: You have heard the resolution. Is any debate required on this question? If no debate is desired, those in favor will please say aye.

The resolution was adopted.

THE PRESIDENT: We have still a little time, and if any gentleman present desires to relieve his mind of any matter which should be brought to the consideration of the League, now would be a fortunate moment for him to accomplish that worthy task. I may mention that I saw in one of the morning papers that there was a great difference of opinion among the reformers present upon the subject specially discussed yesterday, of the methods of the reform of nominations; also that the views expressed by the President in his annual address were regarded by many of his hearers as very unorthodox. Neither of those sentiments was indicated by the debates of the League yesterday. But there is an opportunity now for criticism, if it occurs to any gentleman present that the cause of the League and the general advancement of the welfare and righteousness of mankind can be promoted by such criticism.

MR. H. J. JAXON, of Chicago: Mr. President and Gentlemen: It is simply by way of conveying a few words of appreciation and thanks, from the standpoint of an outsider, that I have arisen. I did not see anyone wishing the floor, and as you have repeatedly given an invitation, it seemed to me that something might be said from my point of view.

**Words of
Appreciation.**

I have drifted in here this morning as a member of that very much criticised body known as the Chicago Federation of Labor. In the labor field we are rather out of touch with you gentlemen, and it seemed to me that we ought to get into touch. You, so to speak, are on a high level, for the time being, and it is for Mahomet, in this case, to come to the mountain. Coming here, I wish to say with frankness and with pleasure, that personally this movement appeals to me very strongly. It seems to me not only the zeal and the honesty of purpose here displayed are very encouraging to fellows working along our lines, but the acumen and executive ability displayed by these papers seem to me to have reached a very high level. The remarks on statistics struck me as being very apropos, although perhaps I would be inclined to go a little further than even he. His criticism was that we stopped short at an end that in reality was only a means. Now to me statistics in themselves are not an end;

they are only a means. Perhaps the common ground upon which you and the labor movement and everything of that sort can stand, is opposition to graft. Graft has been described—has been classified, as honest graft and dishonest graft. I think you will all agree with

Honest and Dishonest Graft. me that there is no such thing as honest graft. There is legal and illegal graft, but not honest and dishonest graft. To my mind, graft may be defined simply as a getting of something for nothing; as the getting of the services or the product of the services of another, without giving any return for it, and it seems to me that this work which you are performing is a most valuable and necessary preliminary to the knocking out of graft. For you are getting into a field which is blurred, which conveys no meaning to the popular mind whatever, and out of that chaos and disorder, which in nine cases out of ten is a purposed and intended chaos and disorder, in my mind, you are trying to place before the public a picture from which they will be able to discriminate and to see just exactly where the lines of honesty end and the lines of dishonesty begin. When you have got to that point, then you will have the attention of the public, gentlemen; then you will see that your honest endeavors will blossom out into actual results. You have got first to convince the people. You have got to show them before you can arouse their efforts to reform. I know something of this kind. I went into the public works department of Chicago some years ago. I got at their books, I went through their system, and I was forced to the conclusion that the bookkeeping of the public works department of Chicago was simply a cunningly devised scheme for the encouragement and perpetuation of fraud.

Now the gentleman from the Senate has brought out a very pertinent point in regard to the fear of members of bodies of that kind that efforts on their part will be misconstrued and lead to particular favors being given to particular firms of accountants. I would add to this other gentleman's testimony on that point. We have got in the public works operation in this city an example. There is a vast amount of graft permeating that department, which in spite of many honest members in the high places of that department, does not seem to be capable of being gotten rid of. But nevertheless there is this fact, and it applies to matters of accounting in my opinion, as well as to matters of public works if necessary, if it shall be found (and at present it looks that way), that all of the contractors of the city are banded together in a municipal works ring, so that it is impossible to get honest work done at a reasonable figure. In the city of Chicago there can be found men of capacity and men of ability who are not contractors, but who are doing the actual work of performance and superintendence, and if the city of Chicago shall find itself helpless in the face of a contractors' ring, when that time comes, when public opinion will demand the reform, it will be possible for the city of Chicago itself to turn capitalist; in that case it will be possible for the city of Chicago to organize a department and staff for the complete

superintendence of public work; that is, of street work, I am referring more to pavements and that sort of thing—who will do that work properly, and the profits now made by the contractor will be divided between better wages to the men and giving to the city work that will be honestly done and that will not be put down simply to rot away.

Mr. President, I hope I have not been ill-timed or inadvertent in these remarks. I simply wish to repeat my very warm sense of appreciation as a representative of labor, of the work which this League is doing. [Applause.]

THE PRESIDENT: I am satisfied that the League has heard with great pleasure from the gentleman, both as to his appreciation of the work of our committee, and as to the attitude which those whom he may be considered to represent hold toward this movement for the betterment of the entire community.

I was reminded by what he said on the subject of the distinction between honest and dishonest graft of an incident that occurred a number of years ago when the present President of the United States, as civil service commissioner, was conducting an inquiry into the participation of certain federal officials in Baltimore in certain Republican primaries which had been marked by a great many scandals. I assisted, at his request, in the capacity of counsel, in that inquiry, and some very curious inside lights on the morals and manners of the minor local statesmen were developed. But there was one gentleman, I remember, who testified as to a series of very fraudulent, and in fact very farcical proceedings, that had taken place in one of the voting precincts at which he was one of the officers of election, and he expressed great disgust at the conduct of one of the opposing faction—or someone who represented them—in inducing Democrats to come and vote at that primary for the candidates of that particular faction. And he then said with a great deal of emphasis, "When I cheat I always cheat honest."

Now that suggests perhaps that the real distinction between honest and dishonest graft is the one between graft that we have got used to and graft that we have not yet got used to. The first kind seems to us honest until reformers begin to disturb the view that we have previously taken of it. The other strikes us at first sight as dishonest until time causes us to drop the first syllable of the word.

Ladies and Gentlemen, if there is no other business to come before the meeting, a motion to adjourn will now be in order. I will remind all here present that the afternoon meeting takes place at 2.30 P. M. at Cobb Hall at the University of Chicago. It does not take place, therefore, in this room, and any who come to this room will be obliged to go away with their yearnings for further knowledge and improvement unsatisfied. [Applause.]

The Conference then adjourned until 2.30 P. M.

FRIDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

The seventh session of the Conference was called to order at Cobb Hall, University of Chicago, by President Bonaparte, who introduced Professor Charles Zueblin, representing the University of Chicago.

PROFESSOR ZUEBLIN: Ladies and Gentlemen: I am very glad on behalf of the University to welcome you here this afternoon. We have had with us during recent months (as we have had during our brief career as a university) savants and learned societies and other bodies of that sort, which have honored us with their presence. I am afraid we have too little had in our midst such organizations as are represented this afternoon. I think it means much for the University to have such a body, representing such practical interests, as that which we are to enjoy now. Some of the people who are much interested in municipal progress both here and elsewhere, who have been in our city this week, have been complaining of the seeming lack of interest in Chicago, from the fact that the halls were not filled to overflowing at the meetings of this organization, and it is certainly rather curious that a city that is in the throes of municipal development as Chicago is, should not turn out en masse to the meetings of such a body. I am afraid the terrible suspicion will have to grow until it takes hold of us that, not unlike many large cities, we are provincial.

Chicago that there is scarcely any city that is not provincial.
Provincial. But it is curious that Chicago, subject to her cosmopolitan influences, should remain provincial; but the graver fear perhaps is that not only is Chicago provincial, but possibly even the University is in some ways provincial, and I hope that at least we shall before the afternoon has closed give evidence of the fact that those of us who do know the great work of the National Municipal League are entirely responsible for that which they have to bring us. We do not want to be, in the University or in the city, like Pat in the St. Patrick's Day parade, you remember, of whom one of his dear friends said, "You ought to have seen that parade, and especially you ought to have seen Pat. Pat was fine. He was the only one that was keeping step." [Laughter.] We have a tendency, I am afraid, to arrogate to ourselves that position, which may really be our insignificant attitude, and so it is with great satisfaction that we welcome the National Municipal League and also the distinguished officer who is going to preside at the meeting this afternoon, who has given years of service to that organization whose deliberations we shall hear, Mr. Bonaparte. [Applause.]

THE PRESIDENT: Ladies and Gentlemen: I am very happy to express the appreciation of the National Municipal League for the courtesies shown it by the University in inviting it to hold one of its meetings here. Also for the many kind things that have been said by Professor Zueblin in introducing the League to the University and me to the meeting as its presiding officer. I think it is well that no man or body of men

should think too well of himself or themselves. Therefore it is with some hesitancy that I explain to you that I think there is no reason why you should feel badly on the charge of provincialism which has been intimated by Professor Zueblin against the city of Chicago or this University. The truth is, that if Chicago is to be considered provincial by reason of the attendance at the meetings of the League, all other cities at which it has met are in very nearly the same condition—only more so. [Laughter.]

I may venture perhaps to tell again here a story which I told at the meeting this morning or this afternoon (I sometimes forget the exact time and place of my stories) [laughter] of a very earnest and effective advocate of this reform as well as of other reforms, who told me that he had frequently, when meeting audiences that were not remarkable for their number (except for their paucity) been told with an air of some embarrassment by the committee which had got the meeting up, "There are nothing like as many as we hoped to be here, but they are our very best people." I feel quite sure that the last part of the description is thoroughly applicable to the audience before us.

The first business on the program this afternoon is a paper on "University and Collegiate Instruction and Research in Municipal Government," by Professor L. S. Rowe, of the University of Pennsylvania, who is also the President of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, whose paper will be read by the Secretary.

THE SECRETARY: I really feel that I owe an apology for inflicting myself again on an audience, but as I see a good many new faces, I hope the old guard will manifest their interest in reform by listening to the same old voice again. When Dr. Rowe asked me to read this paper, I think he must have had in mind that we were both Wharton School men and "Dr. James's boys." And I know that Dr. James is a name not unknown in this University and in this community. Dr. Rowe asked me to say that at the very last moment he was detained by his academic duties. It was not until late yesterday afternoon that I learned he would not be here. However, with that usual caution which most of Dr. James's boys have acquired, he sent me a copy of his paper, so that if he did not get here, his thought would be here.

The Secretary then read Professor Rowe's paper on "University and Collegiate Research in Municipal Government." (See Appendix.)

THE PRESIDENT: The next paper on the program is, "A Tentative Program for the Teaching of Municipal Government in Elementary Schools," by Dr. Frederick L. Luqueer, Principal of School No. 126, Brooklyn, N. Y. But as the Professor, following the very undesirable example of Professor Rowe, is not here, it will be read by Professor Harry W. Thurston, of Chicago. [Applause.]

PROFESSOR THURSTON: I have come to the conclusion that it is about as easy to get a man to write a paper as it is to lead the proverbial horse to water, and about as difficult to get him to come to read it as it is to make the horse drink.

My chief qualification, I think, for presenting this paper is my extreme interest in it. This morning we were discussing the question of municipal finances from the point of view of the city functions, and it was shown that we could not get our work of reform as it should be until we had some way of knowing the cost of every service. This was simply a means to our municipal life. And I cannot help but feel this afternoon that we are one step back of the municipal finances.

Professor Thurston then read Professor Luqueer's paper on "A Tentative Program for the Teaching of Municipal Government in Elementary Schools." (See Appendix.)

THE PRESIDENT: I think that we can perhaps appreciate that Professor Luqueer was not so ill-advised as we thought at the beginning in allowing Professor Thurston to present his paper. It certainly lost nothing in effectiveness in the presentation. This interesting subject is, I believe, now open to discussion. I myself threw out an idea last evening indicating a slightly different view from that, not of course

**The Warning
of Children.**

original to myself, slightly different, however, from that of Professor Luqueer, by quoting the words of a very distinguished English statesman, who was asked what was the educational agency of greatest value in training boys destined to public life (that was before there was any question of training girls for such a purpose), and he indicated his opinion by pointing to the twigs of a birch tree. I did not see anything in Professor Luqueer's paper which showed that he entertained the same opinion. Therefore we may judge that there may possibly be different views taken of this bright and interesting subject.

The Chair will be very happy to recognize anyone who desires to discuss this subject.

In the absence of any discussion on the subject, we will pass to the next heading, namely, "Student Self-government as a Training for Citizenship." On that topic there is a paper by Mr. George H. Martin, of Boston, the Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education, to be read by Professor Buck.

PROFESSOR BUCK: It seems to me that I shall be a mere mouthpiece for Mr. Martin, because there are many ideas in this paper which he would doubtless elaborate during the reading. Dr. Maxwell, in asking me to read the paper, stated that I would not be responsible for the ideas expressed, so I shall read it without comment.

Professor Buck then read Mr. Martin's paper on "Student Self-government as a Training for Citizenship." (See Appendix.)

A paper on the same subject was presented on behalf of the Rev. Thomas R. Slicer, of New York. (See Appendix.)

THE PRESIDENT: It was intended to have this matter presented from another standpoint and by means of another paper, but it has been decided that we shall without further delay ask for a discussion of any question that is supposed to be presented by the papers already read.

THE SECRETARY: I think it is only fair to say that as these papers were prepared by those who are actually engaged in educational duties, it is very hard for them to get off at this time of the year.

I should like to call the attention of the League to the work that has been done by Mr. Gill along the line of his school city. The fundamental thought of Mr. Gill is that we are training children in our schools to be citizens in a republic by imposing an autocratic method of government upon them, that the children in our schools are to a very considerable extent, if not altogether, governed from above. They are not taught to realize that when they disobey a rule they are violating their own rights and jeopardizing their own privileges. They come to think that they are evading an imposed obligation, a duty imposed on them from above. Mr. Gill meets that situation by saying that children ought to be taught to discipline themselves, they ought to be taught that when they throw fruit-skis upon the floor of the school or in the yard, or when they expectorate upon the floor or in the yard, or when they do any other like careless thing, they trespass upon their own rights, they are doing damage to themselves quite as much as to the teacher; that they are not getting ahead of the teacher, they are not doing any particular damage to him, but that they are violating their own rights. Through this school city,

Mr. Gill has sought to teach this idea to the children.

The Gill School City. In Philadelphia there are thirty-odd schools where the school city has been in actual, successful operation, and the boys and girls there are administering school discipline themselves. I have seen them, and it is a very healthful sign—the girls for some reason or other do not seem to need the oversight of the police to the same extent that the boys do—to see these boys actually bringing offenders to task and sentencing them to punishment. Of course the teacher acts as sheriff and sees that the boy is deprived of his recess or that he is detained a certain length of time, if that is the sentence. But the sentence is imposed by the student body itself. And it is a question of whether that is not a very forceful way of impressing upon the children that they are citizens who must in the last analysis be responsible for their own government.

One objection has come from Philadelphia, which I think must be met, and I suggest it simply for consideration as a part of the discussion. One of our social settlement workers said that in one of the schools, that he observed, he found that the boys were administering their particular school city government just as the men were administering their government in the city of Philadelphia, and that "pull" and a certain amount of graft prevailed, and that the boys were being instructed in the ways and means of making the most out of it, the police being lax for a certain number of peanuts, or for so much candy or a top, or something else, and it was a question whether or not it did open the door to instruction in reprehensible practices as well as instruction in the more desirable practices of decent citizenship. I called this particular fact to Mr. Gill's

personal attention, and he assured me it was an isolated condition, and of course they could not prevent the evil instincts of some boys working out. There was nothing in such a system that would give perfect results in every instance, that human nature would work itself out in that way, but the average results had been good in teaching the boys how to govern themselves.

THE PRESIDENT: The Secretary, Ladies and Gentlemen, has taught this assemblage, I think, a lesson by setting them an example of discussing the paper before us. I trust that we shall see the good effect of that.

MR. HOLDEN: We have been taught that the first form of government was patriarchal government, and we who are descended from the New England idea of the common school and the old town meeting have been taught that the teacher stands in the place of the parent. To me the best

Patriarchal. institution that I have ever known was a well-ordered family [applause], and it seems to me as though a well-conducted school where the teacher stands in the place of the parent, where there are order, discipline, love and obedience, comes pretty near to being the right condition of things in the way of instruction. At any rate, in this country we have brought up a pretty fair class of people from the old New England schools, from the New York, Ohio and Illinois schools. I don't know that we would not improve, and that from time to time, from year to year, we are going to find ideas beyond what we had in our own childhood. We know too well that we have conditions in this larger growth of cities that we have to meet. In the time of the early history of our country it was not city government, the source of power was in the condition of the soil and in the farmers of the north. But that condition of things has changed. The great centralization of power is in the cities of the country, and here we find in the great masses of the people collected, in the unfortunate condition of children who are obliged to be born in cities, a new condition to meet. Indeed when you take away all the idea of corporal punishment, and insist that a child must be petted, and that there is no other obedience required except that which can be brought about by this "soft sawder" manner, it seems to me as if something else is required, some form of government.

I am not afraid to say that a child should be disciplined at home nor that a child ought to be disciplined if he disobeys reasonable and good laws in school. I am not in favor of any of this milk and water

Discipline. system. [Applause.] I would like much of what has been suggested in these papers to be brought in. We stuff our children altogether too much in the public schools. We have gone far away from the old idea of teaching a child to be a good citizen. The primitive idea of the public school was simply to educate the child to be a good citizen—to be intelligent enough to be a good citizen, not to stuff him like a turkey for slaughter at Thanksgiving time. Now you know and I know that too much eating is followed by bad digestion, and we know very well that our public schools to-day are crammed, our children

are crammed, crammed to the slaughter; crammed so that they cannot digest the amount of matter that is brought to them to study. As Dr. Holmes said, there is a progression toward Christianity which once existed; there is a progression toward the simpler instruction that we had in early life, and I believe that if we will simplify our school and take away much that is taught and leave much more to the family and individual to carry out, we would produce, as we did in the early days of the Republic, stronger men, men fit to be leaders, such as Webster, Choate and Calhoun and those men that typified the Republic in its early days. We run the children

through a sausage machine and cut them off all the same length. There is a better way. I remember reading in my boyhood and younger manhood, a book entitled "Education Adapted to the Nature of Man."

The name of that book covers a multitude of good thoughts to me, so I would adapt our schools to the nature of men and make them simple, and make them in accordance with the growth of the child and the ability of the child to take it in. You cannot stuff them full of all these civic ideas. Wait till the mind is developed enough so that it can comprehend something of what citizenship means, and then apply it gradually. Perhaps a good lesson would be to have a municipal government, to have such an institution brought in, as we used to do in the academic days when I was preparing for college, where we organized a United States Senate or a House of Representatives, and had office in it. We taught civics in that way in my boyhood. There is lots of this that can be done in a simple way and not cram the children too full.

I didn't intend to talk as long as this, Mr. President, but I have been an educator a great many years. Now I talk through my newspaper. But I feel these subjects, I am interested in them, and I want to see them become so popular and so well understood that the people will say, "We cannot get along without them." It is the way. We are all educators, you and I, every one who throws out an idea which will take root and become by and by public sentiment. [Applause.]

PROFESSOR ROBERTS: As a practical school man I should like to make two objections to the school system of government advocated by the paper. I think the fundamental thing that we should all be after, whether parents or children, is the health of the child. I think the health of the child is first every time. I would rather my boy had a strong body and be able to labor with that body, than to cripple it, destroy it, by overeducating the child. One of the great objections to the system of government by the pupils is met right there. For fifteen years I was a principal and superintendent of schools, but during that period I never had any experience with this system, but I have lived in towns where it has been used and I have found this to be true: Children have been

Health, First. appointed to positions of responsibility in that government, and have lain awake night after night worrying and troubling over their responsibilities, and their health was wrecked.

That word is not too strong. I know whereof I speak. I object to the plan for that reason, and another. It makes no difference to the child whether I as a teacher govern him or some other person governs him; it is not self-government. You are missing the very thing you are asking for, self-government of the child. What we want is to have the child learn to need no government. I have been in Chicago a week; I have seen a few officers; but I have not needed any government; I have not needed anybody to look after me at all; I have learned how to take care of myself, and that is exactly what the child wants to be taught, and we teach him that by the strong personality of the teacher who governs in a way that the child really does not understand he is being governed. [Applause.]

I believe that we have too much machinery in the public schools. I know something of the influence of Mr. Holden, of Ohio. It has been salutary, indeed, throughout our State, and he is an educator of very high renown. We need men who have the courage to lead the people against the new fads that take us in their grasp as they cross the country. I left Ohio and went west. In Ohio we had certain fads of teaching. I went out west; I passed across those fads and after I had been there two years they struck our Western States, and thank God they have gone on now to the Pacific Ocean. [Laughter and applause.] I believe that a school—Mr. Ray no doubt has a good school, I believe he would have a good school without this system, and the worst mistake that a teacher can make is for a teacher who is poor in government attempting anything like popular government. I have seen a teacher who was weak in government try, and make an absolute failure time after time. If this is **The Importance of the Teacher.** tried successfully, carried out successfully, it must be by a man who could get along without it just as well as with it. I have heard it said that Mr. Ray's school would go on just as well whether he was there or not. I don't doubt that at all. I had a school where if I were not there when the time for books came the children would go to work and work just as well as though I were there. They had learned to govern themselves, the secret of life. I think the thing we should be after in this world is strong personality in the teacher.

I liked Mr. Luqueer's paper. There were two strong things in that paper that we who teach ought to realize and appreciate. What the school should do for the child in the first eight grades is to give him a tendency, and that is all we can do. If we can give him a desire for knowledge, if we can shape him and start him on, that is essential. The master of pedagogy, Froebel, has said and said truly, the teacher can mold the pupil in his own image, and he can do it. The great thing we can do is to give him a tendency to behave himself, and he will make a good citizen, when he becomes a man. We are not all fit to govern. Some of us might make legislative officers, and some of us are mighty fortunate that somebody else is governing us. We married men find that out sometimes to our advantage. [Laughter.]

Then another thing, it seems to me that teaching civics, teaching good government, is to teach the men who have made the nation what it is to-day. You cannot come in contact with a strong personality, whether it is through the pages of history or a meeting of this kind, without being made a different man. Pardon the personal illustration, but I have known Mr. Holden through the pen for years—I will not say how many, on his account, but I have known him for a long time, and meeting him on this occasion has added to my character something that was not there before. And so it is with the child. When you take a child to a strong character in history, right and wrong deeds as well, when you take a child and introduce him to a man like Clay and let him know his personality and what drove him on to be what he became, the child cannot help but be a better citizen. I believe that the real keynote of the question is in the man who stands behind the desk. Not the system or the scheme of rules you have in the school-room, but the person who leads. You need no rule from above then. It takes on that kinder, lovelier hue of the home, the greatest institution God ever made, and as long as the home stands in our cities, so long will there be hope for decent government in the cities and in the schools. [Applause.]

PROFESSOR THURSTON: If this body will bear with me just a few minutes more, I don't want to argue for the school government, but there are one or two points about this thing that I want to set forth. I believe the movement when it started was started with a good purpose. We have said that our school should have the government of the home. Now an ideal home is not governed from above wholly. The children and the father and mother can say we have these things to do.

Home Govern The children should not in an ideal home feel that
ment. father and mother are doing it all. There was a laudable purpose in all of this movement to get the boys and girls to lead an active life together; to co-operate heartily, and that is the thing that is good in it all. We do not want in America negatively trained people wholly, and yet when we put our self-government work on to the schools we put it in on a negative basis almost entirely. We organize the children to govern themselves and impose penalties on themselves, instead of having the teacher do it. The thing that is desirable is a positive thing. The boys organize to play baseball. There is not a group of boys and girls anywhere that has a genuine function to perform, but has some social machinery for the carrying out of that social function. Now in the school, if the organization will follow the positive, active life of that school, I believe it will work out hopefully. For instance, there is the marching about the room to the manual training room, there is the physical training; there are many things like putting the assembly rooms in order, taking care of boards, and all that sort of thing; in the lower grades the children help the teacher just as much as they do at home, and they say, "We have these things to do," but that needs very little machinery and it is of a positive sort.

The other point I wanted to make is about the Gill school city. One of the papers made the point, but it should be emphasized—that we have tried to organize by putting in a machinery that would do for any purpose, a large group or small group or some other group instead of the one that was required by the function of the school itself, and we said we

were learning civics by going through the motions of the larger group. That is false to the form of organization of any sort. We ought to have only such machinery as we need to carry on this movement, or to carry on a baseball movement, or to carry on any function.

The form simply should follow the function. We put in with this Gill City movement a lot of machinery we don't need. It is bound to fall down because we find when we have to do a thing we must go around to the House of Representatives and the Senate and pass vetoes and all that sort of thing to decide whether we will clean off this board, or have a baseball game. Such a system is bound to break down unless our machinery suits our inner life.

I want to declare myself positively on two things. One is that I believe we need just as much social machinery as we can get, for the richest school life has a very much richer and fuller life than the old schools had, and school machinery too; not to keep ourselves in order, but to do the things we want to do in the school.

And secondly, don't mix this system up with the study of civics. Study civics for its own sake. If you want to dramatise the city council or legislature, do it for its own sake, but do not mix that up with the element of the schools. Now those two mistakes have heretofore been made. [Applause.]

THE CHAIRMAN: Does Professor Vincent desire to say something?

PROFESSOR GEORGE E. VINCENT, of the University of Chicago: I am impressed with two facts. First, that I have no practical knowledge on the subject, and therefore may be expected to speak upon it for a moment; and in the second place I have, with several other speakers, a certain amount of simple, *a priori* instinct. I think on paper the contest between the despotism of the school and the perfect freedom of after life is very striking and vivid. As a matter of fact, such a contrast does not exist at all in actual life. We people who are out in the world are being coerced and bullyragged and moved by suggestion by other people to do all sorts of things which on final analysis we don't want to do, but did not notice at the time. In other words, men in society are controlled, not by coercive power from without, but are controlled by suggestion. We are all controlled by suggestion. In the school the skilful teacher controls by suggestion. A gentleman here said he had lived in the city and nobody had controlled him. I have to quarrel with him on that. He has been under the control of a social system that has been imbedded in him for a number of years—not very many. [Laughter.] Therefore, when

he went about the city and escaped the police and the patrol wagon (which is no difficult thing to do in Chicago) he was all the while under a system of social control which was an actual, vivid and real thing in his life. In the school where we have an autocratic teacher, in the old time the teacher said, "This is my will, to be imposed upon you." Of course if we have a normal, healthy class, we have a revolution. I should be very much ashamed for the history of our country if we did not have a revolution under those circumstances. But as a matter of fact, what do we find? We find for the most part tactful, sympathetic teachers, who become the leaders of their schools and who by suggestion are controlling their pupils. I think Professor Thurston has made the situation very clear. I think we agree with him for the most part, that wherever common activities have to be carried on, if the simple obvious machinery for carrying on those activities can spring up spontaneously to do that work in the school, we ought to accomplish it, but as to imposing from without an elaborate scheme, I think it is sure to break down in the long run, and I am inclined to think that these have been successful because very good teachers have been running them. I think every one of these governments is being carried on now by the suggestion of the teacher, and the children are going on in the same way as most of us who are controlled by the political organizations of our party, but who are at the time deceived into believing we are representing a spontaneous uprising of the people. So there is a value in this form of self-government, provided that the teacher predominates it thoroughly. But I am inclined to think as we go on that we shall find this elaborate machinery sloughing off, and there will be a saner, more wholesome, more genuine relation between the teacher and the pupils. I think that is the end of my academic speculation. [Applause.]

MR. H. N. WHEELER: I heartily endorse the idea of Professor Roberts that it depends on the person behind the desk whether the children are well prepared for citizenship, and for that reason I should like to urge every person who stands behind a desk to become a member of some municipal league or good government league, or if that is not possible on account of the distance of the teacher from any organization, to form an organization of his own or her own, because where the teacher is interested in things of that sort he can more readily get the children interested in those things. [Applause.]

THE PRESIDENT: I think that that suggestion of Mr. Wheeler will commend itself strongly to the members and especially to the officers of the National Municipal League. [Applause.] I would like to suggest to the meeting that possibly if the working of these school governments is such as has been described by the last two speakers who preceded Mr. Wheeler, that is, if they are really merely puppets in the hands of the innocent but all-powerful agency in the teacher, it may be nevertheless true that they are accustoming the pupils to the future governments with which they will become more familiar. They are teaching them to discover in the teacher of the school the boss that they will learn to know without perceiving him

openly, in the governments in which they will dwell when they are men. The objection of course to that is that it probably presents the boss in a rather more amiable light than he deserves to be presented, and I should be strongly tempted to think under those circumstances that it would be well to impress on the minds of the respective citizens that it will be quite as much a duty when he becomes a man to put a trusted man in the chair of the boss when he gets the opportunity, as it is considered a crime in the school community.

Now, Ladies and Gentlemen, if the business of our program is concluded, I am prepared to recognize anyone who wishes to offer any resolution or other business. Mr. Butler.

MR. BUTLER: It is my agreeable privilege as a representative of the Executive Committee, to offer the following resolution:

"Resolved, That the National Municipal League hereby records its high sense of obligation for the hospitality extended to it by the City Club, of Chicago; and by the University of Chicago, and particularly for the friendly services and warm welcome of the Northwestern University and its kindly and honored President, Dr. Edmund J. James." [Applause.]

THE PRESIDENT: Gentlemen, you have heard the resolution. Is any debate desired on that question?

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

THE SECRETARY: This whole question of school city government is receiving very careful, thoughtful and extended consideration at the hands of a committee of members of the League, of which Dr. Maxwell, perhaps the foremost school superintendent of this country, is chairman, and they are gathering a great deal of information on the subject, and next year I think we may expect to have a very interesting and comprehensive report, not only of the value of the school city system, but of the necessity of some instruction in some form in civics. I think, judging from the discussion we had this afternoon, we may look forward to one or two very interesting sessions next year, dealing with this particular topic.

THE CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen: Is there any other business to come before the League? In the absence of any, a motion to adjourn will be in order.

The Conference then adjourned *sine die*.

APPENDIX

CONTAINING THE PAPERS READ BEFORE THE
CHICAGO CONFERENCE
FOR GOOD CITY GOVERNMENT

Partisanship in Municipal Politics

By CHARLES J. BONAPARTE

Baltimore, President

The purpose of the National Municipal League is altogether practical: it aims to secure better government for American cities and towns of to-day. Those of yesterday it leaves to historians, those of to-morrow will furnish a field of labor for the next generation of reformers. It accepts the counsel of Longfellow and would "*act, act in the living Present,*" dealing with the real, living men in finds in our real, present cities, and with the administrative and political problems which the social life of these men in these cities now offers. It has not the presumption

to rival Plato in fashioning a commonwealth
Our Work is of the imagination; it is not concerned with a
in the Present. Utopia or a Civitas Dei. It seeks to study and
then to answer those questions which experience
puts to him who would find more worthy rulers and obtain wiser
laws for the many millions of Americans who now live in cities
and towns; and, to this end, it must first understand, that it
may afterwards foster or combat, the diverse agencies which
make for righteousness or evil in the public lives of these rulers
and the framework of these laws.

Prominent, perhaps most prominent of all, among these agencies is that of which I purpose to speak this evening, namely, political partisanship; or, in other words, the activity and influence in our municipal affairs of the great national parties. The subject has attracted the attention of municipal reformers for many years, and, in truth, it could hardly fail to do this, for every year brought to public notice numerous proofs of its practical importance. To take or keep the business of our city governments "out of politics" has been the end of probably nine-tenths of the reform legislation, enacted or
Political proposed, during the past thirty years; and the
Partisanship. persistent and well-nigh universal complaints

that the business in question will not come or stay out of politics sufficiently show that the attempted remedies have seldom proved thorough or permanent.

It may well be that the general failure of these many efforts to exclude party politics from municipal affairs, or, at all events, the very limited and often temporary success which has attended the most of them, arises, at least in some measure, from an imperfect apprehension of certain essential features of the situation on the part of those who would improve it, that many reformers do not understand clearly *why* it is so hard to get rid of politics and politicians in our city governments, and therefore do not know how they can best set about overcoming the difficulty. When this is true, they resemble a physician obliged to deal with a malady of which he knows only the symptoms: so long as its cause escapes him, his treatment must be mainly palliative, and there will be always more or less

Exclusion of Party Politics from Municipal Affairs.	danger lest it be misdirected. He may relieve his patient of distress in one form, only to find that a more alarming ailment has succeeded and, at best, must constantly fear a relapse. Our healers of the body politic have often found themselves in much the same case; and, without presuming to suggest that I have successfully isolated the microbe which thus infests American municipal politics, I venture to submit a few thoughts as to its nature which may possibly afford some slight help in the discovery of an appropriate antitoxin.
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It is usually thought, or, at all events, very often said, by reformers that a national party can have no legitimate place in municipal politics, for, since the fact that a mayor or an alderman is a Republican or a Democrat cannot properly affect in any way whatever the discharge of his duties to the city he serves, it is essentially and obviously absurd to vote for him because he is a Republican rather than a Democrat or *vice versa*. If this proposition be really so nearly self-evident as it is usually assumed to be by those who advance it, how can we explain the fact that in, to say the very least, nine-tenths of the municipalities of the country a proportion of the voters no less overwhelming habitually cast their ballots for or against candidates for

such offices just because these are Republicans or Democrats and for no other reason whatsoever? Why is it that the great bulk of our citizens, not to mention every one of our politicians, good, bad and indifferent, adopt a rule of conduct so plainly unreasonable? I think this question requires an answer.

In truth, the action of the voters in question is not, to their minds, unreasonable at all, and to our politicians, even the best of them, any other course would seem altogether unnatural. For seventy years all professed politicians, with extremely few exceptions, have not only believed that public offices are "spoils" but have acted upon that belief. They have considered public offices as which "belong" to "victors" in political contests, or, in other words, that the office exists for the office-holder, but have made or tried to make their living through the practical application of this doctrine: while to the great majority of their fellow-citizens their principles and practices had become so familiar as to be considered almost parts of the natural order of things when the agitation for civil service reform commenced between thirty and forty years ago. The fruits of that agitation and its effects upon public opinion have been indeed profound and far-reaching; but the idea that, *ceteris paribus*, a public officer, no matter how completely dissociated from all political activity may be the duties of his office, say a recorder of deeds or a collector of taxes, not only may, but ought to, select only members of his own party as his subordinates is still widespread, even among men of intelligence and honor.

It must be remembered that, owing to the practical and thorough-going adoption of the "spoils" theory of politics by our politicians, our "parties" differ essentially from political parties in all other enlightened countries, and from those known here before the adoption of that theory. Here in the early days of the republic and elsewhere now, parties were and are organizations of men entertaining similar views on questions of public policy, and combining to obtain practical acceptance for their views. Of course, legislative and some executive offices were always and are everywhere the immediate prizes of political contests, for through their possession only can practical effect

be given to the principles of the victorious party. Moreover, in all times and in all countries unprincipled men are found who mask schemes of self-interest under an affectation of patriotism; and those placed in positions of public trust sometimes abuse their patronage for partisan or personal advantage. But everywhere else offices have been, as they were here for the founders of our government, avowedly at least, a means only; the end of a party, the reason of its life, has been to promote or defeat some measure more or less definite, of legislation or administration, and the use of ministerial offices to reward partisan services has been, for all statesmen but those of these later days in our country, a form of bribery, practised no doubt, but never defended, and but little, if at all, less odious than the simple purchase of votes or influence for money.

But for our parties to obtain the principal executive offices, and through them those in their gift, is the whole end and reason of existence; far from wishing the offices to carry out a policy, their managers often fear above all things to advocate an intelligible policy, lest it may cost them the offices.

The whole purpose of our parties being to obtain and distribute offices, they are correspondingly organized. Their leaders are prominent office-holders or those who will become such if the party succeed; their active members are the incumbents of petty offices, or such as hope to dispossess them; their revenues are derived from assessments on official salaries supplemented by

The Real Purpose of Parties.	the investments of capitalists having contracts to obtain or taxes to evade. Every public trust, however responsible or however humble, that of a Chief Justice of the Supreme Court or that of a village lamplighter, is for our politicians simply
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current coin to excite and reward partisan activity. They believe that, as a national organization, the one party has no other aim than to seek these offices; the other, no purpose but to keep them; that for strictly analogous reasons these parties exist and contend in every State and division of a State throughout the Union. They think an American political party is kept up for purposes as strictly interested as a railroad or a life insurance company: the sentiments of its platform mean for them no more than the

devotion to the public to be found in a prospectus of the former, or the longing to care for the widow and orphan professed in the circulars of the latter; such professions are advertisements and nothing more. The very men who prepare them often look with undisguised contempt upon any one who takes them more seriously: a politician of to-day can hardly conceive of a party with other ends than to secure support at public expense for as many as possible of its members: that citizens should combine for any other purpose, seems to him absurd and visionary.

Before this audience no argument is needed to prove this theory of politics no less false than unworthy, but it has come dangerously near to practical acceptance by a very large proportion of our citizens. It was, indeed, generally condemned and indignantly repudiated by statesmen of all parties when first brazenly announced, but to-day its mere application so widely and for so long has made its observance seem almost a matter of course to all but the few among us who, on such subjects, can and do think for themselves. While it endures, we must expect to find many who seem to really believe that the duty of a Democratic mayor is, first of all, to find places for Democratic "workers," and many more, who have outgrown that barbarous notion, but still see nothing absurd or immoral in holding that he has the right and is even bound to give Democrats a preference in filling municipal offices. The thorough refutation and rejection by public opinion of the "spoils" doctrine, the introduction and observance in good faith of the merit system in all branches of the public service, Federal, State and municipal, is at least a prerequisite to the rescue of municipal government from the unwholesome influence of partisan politics.

Is this influence, however, wholly unwholesome? Is no good done in municipal politics by party organizations formed on national issues? These questions must be answered fairly and without dogmatism or prejudice before the National Municipal League can safely and worthily counsel the friends of good government and pure politics throughout the Union in their efforts to deal with the grave problem I imperfectly discuss this evening. To thus answer them we must bear in

Is their
Influence
Wholesome?

mind the necessity and duty of seeing things as they are and not letting our wishes or our theories color the glasses through which we look out on this work-a-day world. Moreover, we must remember that a half loaf has many points of superiority over no bread, and that a very unsatisfactory makeshift may yet be very useful while we await something better. Finally it may be well to note once more that political parties are not essentially or necessarily quasi-corporations devoted to place-mongering: our parties have been no less deformed and degraded by the "spoils" system than our public service and our electorate; indeed they are the earliest and most grievously maltreated of its victims.

In a very clever and instructive, as well as amusing, satire entitled: *The Boss: an Essay upon the Art of Governing American Cities*," published in 1894, and, I regret to say, already out of print, the author, a Mr. Champernowne, points out very clearly, although with a slight touch of sarcasm, why our modern American cities cannot govern themselves without the aid of politicians. He says:

"The people of a modern city differs much from the people of an ancient city, or from one of the Middle Ages . . . in being very much greater in numbers. For some of the Greek cities had **The Difference** but a few hundred citizens, and the Italian cities were **Between the** not very much larger; nor was there any city of those **Ancient and the** times that had one tenth as many citizens as the city of **Modern City.** New York now has. But the results of this, as I said at the outset, are very important; for where there is so great a congregation of men they cannot act as one body, either in choosing rulers, or in making laws, or in deliberating about what is best to be done; for at the most not more than two or three thousand men can be gathered in one hall so as to hear one orator, nor are there many orators that can be heard by a greater number in the open air. Moreover no man can be acquainted with more than a few hundred others, and most of these he cannot know well. Hence in a great city it may be said that no one knows the wishes or desires of many of the citizens, so it often falls out that the greater number of them desire the same thing, but cannot bring it about because they are ignorant of their own agreement . . . Herein lies the strength and opportunity of the politicians; for they can unite, being few and acquainted with one another, and having nothing else to engage their attention; but the multitude cannot. Neither can the multitude have any leaders, at least for any long time, except the poli-

ticians. But the politicians can be their leaders, since they reward themselves with the offices; and whoever becomes a leader of the people, expecting to be repaid for his labor with office, is a politician."

There is nothing really mysterious in this; some one must make it his business to control any association, or to direct any corporate work; and the more unwieldy the assemblage the more imperative is the need of expert guidance. Professional politicians are indispensable in any popular government: we are peculiar only in having more of them, and those of a lower type, than other free nations. We have in our midst several hundred thousand persons who obtain their livelihood by influencing the nomination of party candidates; we may not admire their aims or their methods, but no one can deny or need wonder that they succeed.

It is no less clear that popular government
The Need of is impossible without associations of some sort
Association for political ends among voters, and that the
among Voters. power and influence of such associations will be
 augmented in proportion as their members accept
 more promptly and cheerfully the guidance of their leaders. To
 quote again from "The Boss:"

"The great need of any number of men, if they are to accomplish anything by acting in common, is to be organized and disciplined. If they are soldiers, they must learn to obey their leaders without any deliberation or inquiry or hesitation; for this is the end of all discipline, that a great number may act in accordance with the plan and will of one mind. A few such soldiers, if properly led, will put to flight a great multitude not accustomed to listen to orders or to obey them promptly. For the greater the number the weaker the army, unless they all act as one man toward a common end; since otherwise they hinder and delay one another. . . . It is well understood that a small body of disciplined troops will defeat a much larger force of troops that are ill disciplined, even if they have the same arms; but it is not so well understood that a similar thing is true of political contests; yet such is the truth. Although it is the law that the greater number shall rule, yet nearly always a smaller number, voting under orders as one man, will prevail over the greater number; because the latter are divided in their counsels, and many of their votes merely offset one another by being cast for different men."

It is in no wise surprising that the local organizations of our great national parties should exercise an influence usually para-

Cohesiveness of National Parties. mount in municipal political contests; for it must be owned that an association of this character possesses a permanence and cohesion which no ordinary municipal party could acquire; such a party dissolves when the end for which it was formed has been attained or become clearly unattainable; and one result or the other will ordinarily be reached before many years. But, as the object of these associations in municipal contests is one never to be irrevocably effected, there is no reason why they should not endure for all time. So long as the only material distinction between Republicans and Democrats is that the former hold some city offices which the latter covet, and the latter hold some which the former covet, the present parties may last as long as we allow city offices to be bestowed for party reasons. There will never come a time, while both human nature and our institutions remain the same, when those who wish for such places need finally despair of ousting those who have them.

I should be the last to maintain that "parties" such as these are ideal instruments of government, especially of municipal government; but, while we try to make them better, or even to make them step down and out that better may fill their places, let us frankly recognize that, bad as they are, they are of some, and even of great, utility, and that their removal from the sphere of city politics will leave a void, which, if not aching, may be very seriously inconvenient and imperatively demand to be filled. In truth, a self-governing community without definitely organized parties much resembles a public meeting at which no one is prepared to offer a motion. Everybody present may have a more or less distinct idea of what he wishes done, but if no one is ready to put that idea into concrete form as a proposal for action of some sort the time will pass in mere mutterings and confusion.

Nor is this all. Nature abhors a vacuum in society, if not in physics, and if the place of leader in such a meeting remains too long empty, there is grave danger lest, at last, it be ill filled. Amateurs in politics are an extremely useful and meri-

Need for Discipline. torious class; but of all politicians and, I had almost said, of all men, they most need a strict discipline, and especially the discipline of adversity.

A noted English statesman, when asked what form of training was most useful for boys destined to public life, pointed to the twigs of a birch tree: a good sound thrashing puts more political sense into a man than all the writings of Aristotle or Machiavelli, who are so often quoted by the author of "The Boss." When the National Municipal League was formed in 1894, the Good Government Clubs of New York seemed to many sanguine friends of reform the long-sought substitute for Tammany in city politics. Mayor Strong's election sufficed, first to make them the Goo-Goos, then to consign them to merited oblivion; they were absolutely ruined, as instruments of government, by a single brilliant victory. On the other hand, our Baltimore Reform League has a record of twenty years' hard, steady, useful service to the cause of good government and pure politics, and is still stout, vigorous and respected: the Maryland Independents, of whose body it forms the nucleus, have been thrashed so often and so soundly that none of their occasional successes has availed to banish humility, charity and common sense from their intellectual equipment.

Prevalence of Universal Manhood Suffrage. These considerations are the more material because in municipal government, and more especially in the administration of our great American cities, public men must deal with a class of problems whose attempted solution by minds untrained through experience may breed no little mischief. Our friend Mr. Champenowne says:

"All municipalities in this country differ in their constitution from all those that do now subsist, or that have heretofore subsisted, in any of the other countries of the earth. All these other cities, whether ancient or modern, are or have been ruled either by princes, or by nobles, or by such of the inhabitants as are either rich or at least do not count upon wages for their support. But the government of every city in this country is carried on through the institution of manhood or universal suffrage, as it is called. Under this institution the vote of every one in making laws and in choosing rulers is of the same weight, whatever his birth or wealth, or however he obtains his support; and whoever receives the votes of the greater num-

ber of the people is lawfully their ruler. But in every city the number of those who count chiefly upon their wages for support is either greater than that of all the other citizens or not very much less; so that the common people are able, when they are united, to choose such rulers and to make such laws as please them.

In the cities whereof Aristotle wrote the slaves and some others were not reckoned among the people, and had no voice in making the laws and choosing the rulers, so that perhaps not one-tenth of the men dwelling in such a city had the suffrage; whereas in the modern city in this country all men have it. And the same thing is partly true of the cities of Italy which Machiavelli had in mind; for, although there were no slaves, at least by that name, yet very many of the inhabitants were not freemen or citizens, and had no part in the government.

Now when we speak of the people we mean all the inhabitants, or all the male adults. . . . But that a government by such a people as this could exist in a city would probably not have seemed credible to either Aristotle or Machiavelli. For they thought that a people such as they knew could hardly be restrained from plundering the rich if it became possessed of the government; and they would have said that if the power was obtained by the very poorest, such as slaves and outlaws, the city would be at once destroyed by their excesses."

That universal suffrage in our great cities has not, in fact, led to these lamentable consequences is undoubtedly the result of many causes: to some extent, however, it is due to certain characteristics of our politicians, which, in a measure, neutralize their more baneful qualities. They are greedy and shameless,

but seldom bold, and cowardice with the bulk
Cowardice of of them is some substitute for conscience. More-
Politicians. over, a thoroughly corrupt and self-seeking class

is by nature conservative. The American politician has in his mind no dangerously vague visions of general improvement for mankind; he has the perfectly definite and commonplace intention to advance his own interests, and no mirage of the imagination lures him into perilous paths in this pursuit. He is not naturally a demagogue; when he attempts the role he is usually clumsy and unsuccessful, because transparently insincere. To inflame and play on passions and prejudices of class or race or creed is, in truth, greater work than he is fit for; the practice of vulgar frauds and petty intrigues does not train men to be real popular leaders in mischief.

Another aspect of the matter merits a moment's attention.

One of the most serious objections to a democratic form of government is that it renders public service particularly distasteful to those particularly well qualified to serve the public. The usual and almost inevitable incidents of a canvass for office are repulsive to most men fitted to fill offices of moment; and the higher grades of public employment are far less profitable, for honest and competent officers, than are positions

Disinclination of private trust of the like responsibility. The
of Worthy result is that first-class men usually serve the
Men. community at a sacrifice of both interest and

inclination, and, in truth, under a sort of compulsion, so that a party organization discharges the duties, not only of a committee on nominations, but of a press gang: when it feels the need of a really good candidate, or, in other words, when its managers believe that only the nomination of such a candidate will save it from defeat and consequent loss of the minor offices, it is better able to first find such a candidate and afterwards to induce him to accept its nomination than any temporary or purely local association can be. As our author says: "Loyalty is with most men stronger than reason," and one who would firmly refuse to take the trouble and incur the expense involved in seeking or holding the mayoralty because he might thus make taxes lower, streets cleaner, schools better and public servants more honest and capable, may not resist an appeal to accept that he may help the G. O. P. out of a hole.

From all that I have said, it may be reasonably inferred that I believe the existing local organizations of the two national parties may be employed for certain purposes as useful agencies of municipal government; and even that, under existing conditions of political education and morals among the people of great American cities, if it were possible to do away with them altogether, the results of so doing might be disappointing and, in some cases, disastrous. It must not be supposed for a moment, however, that I am in any wise blind or tender to their faults. I am not quite prepared to say with Mr. Champenowne:

"Party associations are not based upon any established law, nor do they seek the public good; they arise from the love of power, originating in avarice and ambition, and the leaders make the public interest, to which in name they are devoted, in reality their prize."

Our existing parties did not "originate in avarice and ambition:" they were founded by men who did, more or less wisely and unselfishly, but, on the whole, sincerely "seek the public good" in so doing: nevertheless it is quite true that their present leaders, especially in municipal affairs, usually "make the public interest . . . in reality their prize."

Our vast political corporations are ruled each by a small inner circle of men whose stake in its operations is sufficient to have them make its control the business of their lives. When the ordinary voter enters a primary, he finds invariably his choice narrowed to two or three candidates. How these have come to be all that have the slightest chance of election, he does not know: the result has been brought about by influences in which he has had no part, and whose nature he generally very imperfectly understands; but he knows, or will soon learn by experience, that unless his vote is cast for some one of these two or three, it will have no more bearing on the nomination than if he had staid at home. The nominee of a primary in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred owes his success to a previous nomination by some man or clique of men who make politics a trade: he is the creature of a "boss" or a "ring." Our laws are made and enforced by men who owe their official life to our professional politicians, for these constitute, for practical purposes, the two great corporations we call parties; and their rule is such as should be expected from the characteristics of the men who control them.

What manner of men are these? The typical American politician earns his living by holding a public office (usually of subordinate importance and purely ministerial functions) in return for past or expected party work. He is liable at any moment to be thrown out of employment for no other fault than being less useful to his party, or faction, or special patron, than some-

one else who wants his place, and his chance of promotion depends upon his ability to supplant in like manner somebody else; in no legitimate way can he insure himself and his family a continued subsistence, much less make a provision for the future: that he should be usually dishonest is a logical sequence of his conditions of life. He passes his time in an atmosphere of intrigue and dissimulation, concealing or exaggerating his sentiments, amplifying his importance, striving to arouse hopes and fears he knows to be groundless, and to gain a confidence he will be strongly tempted to abuse: it is therefore a law of his being to deceive in words and actions. He is regarded by the community, and especially by the classes who usually fix its standards of thought and conduct, much as usurers were in the Middle Ages, feared and occasionally courted for their power, but hated and despised. Although fortunes are no doubt made in it, politics, regarded as a way to make money, is a poor trade: the proportion of really prosperous politicians is very small compared with the vast number for whom a needy and anxious life ends in a dishonored and miserable old age. It has consequently few attractions for men of character and ability, and such men, with rare exceptions, shun it: it is recruited from the failures and outcasts of all honorable professions, those too dull, indolent or vicious to hold their own in any field of worthy competition. Its lowest stratum is made up in no small measure of habitual criminals: we may truly say that our Botany Bay is the political arena; we reform, or further debauch, our convicts by making them our rulers.

Among so many thousands a certain number of men of ability will, of course, be found, but I believe the impression that politicians are generally acute and ingenious, though untrustworthy, is wholly groundless; the vast majority of them are men of the most moderate natural abilities, and the most limited acquirements. The relations between the prominent and ordinary members of the calling resemble those between the robber barons and their men-at-arms: the "bosses" are noted for skill in obtaining plunder and liberality in its distribution among their followers: while the latter believe in their patron's star, that is to say, feel confidence in his continued ability to find them places, they adhere to him with unscrupulous fidelity, but

he will be deserted in an instant if another proves, or is thought better able to reward effective service at the people's cost.

Organizations formed of such men for such purposes can be agencies of good city government only against their will; and to compel them to become such agencies is, to my mind, the immediate end of municipal reformers in America to-day. I say the *immediate* end, for I fully recognize that we may reasonably look forward to a time when the mass of our fellow-citizens shall have attained, through long and sad experience, a standard of enlightenment enabling them to elect a mayor or alderman for some other and better reason than his nomination as a Democrat or as a Republican; and we may also hope that when the serpent of "spoils" politics has been, not "scotched" skin deep, as at present, but killed for good, and kept dead long enough to leave no fear of revival at sundown, our parties themselves may become again worthy of their names and fit for their work. But, dealing, as we must, with the voters we have and the parties we know, under any ordinary circumstances, I see but one sensible course for sensible friends of good government, namely, to invite bids from both parties for their support, bids in the nomination of good men and the support of good measures, and to close with the highest bidder.

I need hardly say that I disclaim any right to speak *ex cathedra*, but I would have us discharge our duties as citizens in accordance with those principles of honesty and common sense which guide the fulfilment of any private trust: let us seek to obtain the best rulers we can and the best laws we can for our city, just as we seek to make the safest, most judicious and most profitable use of lands or goods placed in our keeping. In neither case can honorable and conscientious men make any bargain with iniquity: a trustee has no right to bribe an assessor that his *cestui que trust* may pay lower taxes, or let the trust property for a gambling hell or a brothel, that the gross income may be larger; and, in like manner, a citizen has no right, by word or act, to justify belief that he holds a scoundrel for anything else but a scoundrel.

But we must also bear in mind that we are not inspired

prophets, entrusted with a revelation of warning to a people steeped in sin, a warning which the latter will do well to heed, but whose reception in nowise concerns us. We are men, no better or wiser than our fellows, seeking by purely human appeals to reason and conscience to make more of these see things as we see them, and feel as we feel about what we all see. Partisanship in municipal affairs is a source of odious abuses and the abatement of its evils should be matter of grave and urgent concern to all in hearty sympathy with the principles and purposes of the National Municipal League; but its elimination is, for the moment and as things are, neither practicable nor certainly and unreservedly to be desired; and I now invite the aid of all who thus sympathize with our aims and methods to make it, if and in so far as we can make it, a source of good.

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A Year's Disclosure and Development

By CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF

Secretary, Philadelphia

Investigations, indictments, trials, convictions for municipal shortcomings and dishonesty have been the order of the day throughout the whole country during the past year to an unprecedented, and from one point of view, an appalling extent. From Milwaukee comes word that one grand jury has found twelve bills of indictment charging eight city officials with various forms of corruption; and a subsequent grand jury has indicted seven more, including a commissioner of public works, a superintendent of bridges, several aldermen, a county printer, for the acceptance of bribes; and a prominent business man for paying a bribe.

Wisconsin Scandals. A Green Bay (Wis.) grand jury has found eighteen true bills, against seven city officials, charging some with having received money for protecting places of evil resort, and others with having entered into a conspiracy to extort money as the price for securing a favorable report and the passage of a franchise desired by a construction company.¹

In Minneapolis five former city officials have been sentenced to state prison for connection with the Ames scandals:—former Mayor Ames for six years; former chief of police Ames, for six and one-half years; former detectives King and Norbeck for three and one-half years and three years respectively, and a former special policeman for six and one-half years. True, some

¹ One has been convicted since this address was prepared.

of these men have been awarded new trials on technicalities, but the fact remains and cannot be escaped that on the evidence they were convicted of gross misdemeanors in office.

The Minneapolis grand jury has been continuing its good work of investigation. The **Minneapolis Disclosures.** superintendent of the poor and his bookkeeper have been indicted for misappropriation of funds, and three councilmen, for bribery. In the latter cases, however, the state's witness was spirited away and the prosecution was so far weakened that the cases had to be abandoned; but here again the indicted men stand convicted in the minds of the public because the flight of the state's witness was regarded as tantamount to confession.

Through the confession of a former city attorney in November last, all the details of the Grand Rapids water conspiracy of 1900 and 1901 were revealed. As a result of this confession fourteen aldermen and ex-aldermen, an ex-mayor, an ex-member of the Board of Public Works, a state senator, a deputy city marshal, an ex-city clerk, four newspaper men and three attorneys were arrested, charged with bribery, conspiracy, perjury, attempted subornation of perjury, and attempted jury bribery. Thus far three have confessed and are witnesses for the prosecution, three have been convicted. The peculiar phase of the situation is that certain of the daily newspapers are involved so that the people of the city are not able to get full reports of the court proceedings.

Denver has a League for Honest Elections.

Denver's Fraudulent Elections. It was organized on October 1, 1903, after a charter election which was described as "a carnival of corruption." Fraud was so brazen and carried to such an extent that a meeting of citizens was called and the league formed. Thus far seven defendants, including a state senator and a deputy county clerk, have been found guilty of padding registration lists; nineteen defendants are awaiting trial; six others are wanted and cannot be found. Some of the defendants are women.

A far western correspondent, an important state official, himself charged with important powers of investigation, writes

that "there is a general shaking up in municipal affairs going on throughout the West. The daily papers tell of investigations in all departments of public affairs; expert accountants are being called in, grand juries have been assembled, and in general there is an effort being made, such as never before, to arrive at some definite form of administration of public funds that will show without too much elaboration the disposition of the people's money" and prevent its dishonest use or diversion.¹

In Chicago a notable "graft" investigation was conducted by a special committee of the City Council, appointed by the mayor. This inquiry arose out of the disclosures incident to the indictment of five inspectors of the Sanitary Bureau of the Health Department on charges of bribe taking, the evidence having been presented to the grand jury by the Citizens' Association. These disclosures showed the existence of a system, covering nearly the entire city, by which inspectors exacted the payment of certain fixed sums for allowing plumbers to omit the tests required by the city ordinances. The association also compelled the Commissioner of Health to file charges of neglect of duty against other inspectors who later were discharged by the Civil Service Commission. Another inspector resigned under fire, as did the chief of the Sanitary Bureau. As a result of the upheaval produced by these disclosures the Sanitary Bureau has been placed under the direction of an efficient and capable head and is now in a fair way to become an effective safeguard of the public health, instead of being a menace alike to public health and morals, as it had been for some years.

The Investigating Committee was in session for several months, during which time it inquired into charges affecting the employes of other departments. As a result of its recommendations about fifty city employes lost their positions and

¹ Chief Powers, in his address, mentioned the fact that in one day his Bureau had requests from its agents in three different towns in the United States for modifications of their instructions, since the books that they were to investigate were in the hands of grand juries and they could not do any work.

many valuable changes were brought about in connection with the various departments, particularly in the matter of securing a better system of public records.

Chicago's The Citizens' Association presented to the In-
Citizens' vestigating Committee a mass of evidence
Association. against police officers, demonstrating that the
admitted inefficiency of the department was

due to a lack of system in handling crime and to a gross lack of discipline. Instances of blackmail, extortion and bribery on the part of police officers were brought to light and a number of indictments against them were subsequently secured. An equally important result of the disclosures was the awakening of a public sentiment which effectively backs up police officers in doing their duty and demands efficiency of them. Four of the indicted police officers have thus far been convicted in the Criminal Court. The facts brought out by the investigation have resulted in a thorough shake-up of the Police Department, and in greatly increasing its efficiency.

An investigation of the policy-shop evil in Chicago was begun by the same association and a report published showing that there were at least 1,200 policy-shops in the city, with daily receipts of at least \$18,000 and annual receipts of more than \$5,500,000, with an annual profit to the members of the policy "syndicate" of nearly \$2,000,000. The demoralizing effect upon local politics exercised by the policy "syndicate" was pointed out and the fact emphasized that policy is so conducted as to have become more contemptible than gambling and to amount to theft. The supine attitude of the police toward the policy-shops was also disclosed. With a view to testing the efficacy of the present gambling law, as applied to policy, more than 180 indictments have been secured during the last few months.

In St. Louis, Circuit Attorney Folk has been greatly handicapped in his punishment of confessed and convicted boodlers by the technicalities of the law, which, originally devised to prevent injustice being done to the one innocent man among the 100, are now being utilized to prevent the 99 guilty men from

getting their just deserts. The jury found **The St. Louis "Boss" Butler** of St. Louis guilty, but **sentences** was reversed because, as one observer put it, "there was an attempt by a de facto boodler to bribe a de facto board of health, and to get a de facto 'rake-off' from the cost of removing de facto garbage under a de facto contract made by virtue of a de facto law, and the de facto boodler was convicted by a de facto jury in a de facto court and sentenced to a de facto penitentiary. If the Supreme Bench of Missouri had been less impressed by technicalities Ed. Butler would now be serving a de facto sentence at de facto labor."

If we should dwell too long or too exclusively upon these various disclosures the result would certainly be most distressing and fill us with fear and trembling as to the future, especially if we take into consideration, as we must, the indifference of the average voter to the dignity, importance and demands of the municipal situation. The burden of far too many reports is that the great mass of citizens is either too busy or too indifferent to care what happens, and the facts attest the correctness of the conclusion.

The Boston Board of Aldermen has steadily deteriorated during the past ten years both in character and ability. During the same period the "stay at home" vote at **Boston's** municipal elections has been as steadily increasing. **Aldermen and** The Boston *Advertiser* declares that: "The **Indifference.** following table, giving the percentage of registered voters who remained away from the polls in the years indicated, tells its own unvarnished story of waning interest in local affairs:

1895	14.57 p. c.
1897	20.80 p. c.
1899	18.89 p. c.
1901	19.29 p. c.
1903	27.53 p. c.

"When one realizes that only a very small percentage over half of the assessed polls voted in December, there is evidence

that new methods of awakening the people to a lively concern in the policies of their own city government are needed."

It is accepted as an established fact among "practical" politicians, that the machine has but little difficulty in carrying "light elections." These facts may serve to explain, at least in part, the election to the Boston Board of Aldermen, of a man but recently convicted of personating another at a federal civil service examination.

The average voter is unfortunately too indifferent or too busy to register as he should, or to vote when he should, although this delinquency has been explained, and with a certain show of reason, to be due
Voters' Indifference to Obligations. "to the fact that registering and voting not being a daily occupation, does not fit into the day's routine fixed by long habit." On the other hand it must be confessed that the average voter, as we have come to describe the great mass of those who are entrusted with the franchise, can be and is more easily aroused to action by some evil at a distance than by the municipal iniquity at his door. A few months ago a meeting was held in one of our larger eastern cities to denounce the Mormons and their customs. A large hall was crowded and great indignation was very properly aroused; but in this same city there has not been a meeting attended by 100 people to consider local shortcomings for three years, and yet that city has a "machine" that is regarded as the pattern for boodlers and corruptionists throughout the country. The anti-Mormon meeting was needed, as subsequent developments have shown; but it should have completed its work by providing for equally severe and strenuous condemnation and correction of local shortcomings, which are likely to prove more dangerous to the morals of the coming generations in that city than the delinquencies of Reed Smoot and his colleagues, dangerous and subversive as they are.

Voters show their indifference to their obligations in still another way. In the same city where so much concern was shown about the morals of Utah and so little about its own political morals, a certain lieutenant of police was convicted by a police court of failure to obey orders to suppress certain "speak-

easies" and disorderly houses. This fact, however, did not prevent a group of eminently respectable citizens, including lawyers, clergymen and manufacturers, from asking the mayor not to deal harshly with the lieutenant as he was within six months of going on the retired list.

According to President Powell of the Chicago Investigating Commission, already referred to, "whenever a policeman is in danger of losing his job, there is usually an alderman or two, ready to come to his rescue. There is also a large body of so-called 'prominent citizens' to plead for him."

There is still another form of indifference, which directly tends to evil ends and is manifested in notorious laxity of administration. Indifferent voters beget indifferent officials. "What's the use? who cares?" is a question all too frequently heard, and all too frequently excused by the facts. As a correspondent (a university president) puts it, "there is laxity in administration all along the line even in so small a matter as the ringing of the curfew in our town. The custom of ringing, established by law, has disappeared because nobody seems to have thought enough about it to keep on enforcing it."

This recital of some of the more significant features of the situation, this consideration of the adverse phases, must not, however, be permitted to destroy the perspective of our view nor our balance. A man may be sick but a fortnight and his experience so unpleasant that complaint is justified, but if he permits the other three hundred and fifty-one days to be fretted and made uncomfortable by the memory of those two weeks, we do not hold a high opinion of his judgment or his balance. So in considering the developments of a year's municipal activity, we must not dwell so long on the undoubted evils that we will form an erroneously exaggerated view of their importance and significance. A western newspaper has thus described the situation: "Municipal dishonesty is being exposed in scores of localities throughout the United States. The multiplicity of cases that have been unearthed of late are taken by many to mean that the public service is grow-

ing more degenerate. This view is hardly correct. Corruption has existed since the beginning of government, and the fact that dishonest officials are being run from cover and brought to prosecution is a good sign, for it shows that the people are active in moving for a cleaner and better administration of public affairs."

It is doubtful whether there has ever been a time in the history of this country when the people were so aggressive and determined to introduce strictly business methods into public service. The people are becoming inquisitive and are requiring closer accountings of stewardships. As a matter of fact, it is better to unearth scandals and punish thieves than to allow them to pursue their work unmolested in the dark, while the people hug the delusion that they have honest public servants.

Every scandal brought to light and every offender punished is a move in the right direction and is a sure index of improved conditions for the future.

Some interesting figures I came across, a few months ago, tell the same story. The United States Fidelity and Trust Company is authority for the statement that in 1901 the banks of the country lost \$1,665,109 from defalcations, and in 1902, \$1,709,301.

The editor of *Midland Municipalities* is responsible for the statement that the loss of federal, county and municipal governments from the same cause was \$1,283,055 in

Honesty of	1901, and \$1,067,789 in 1902. So that for
Municipal	these two years the employes and officers of
Officials.	banks defaulted in the amount of \$1,024,569
	more than did all the public officials in the

country! This is an interesting and in some ways a remarkable showing as the opinion quite generally prevails that there is more dishonesty in public than private service and especially on the part of municipal employes. To be sure, these figures do not take into consideration the exorbitant prices which the city, state or nation is oftentimes compelled to pay; but on the other hand, the bank figures do not take into consideration the profits accruing from watered stock and other peculiar devices for making money. They cover solely the question of honesty and show that the average run of public offices is as honest, yes, a

little more so than the average run of bank officers. As the editor of the *Midland Municipalities* pertinently remarks, "The fact is that neither the bankers nor the officials are as a class dishonest, but on the contrary, look after the interests in their care much better than the average man looks after his business. With the vast sums handled each year by the officials or the banks, the amount lost in defalcations is exceptionally small, so small that when compared with the whole they are hardly worth notice, much less an excuse for general condemnation."

The New York election of 1903 was quite generally regarded as a serious set-back for the cause of reform. Every friend of the cause of good municipal government was sincerely and earnestly anxious for Mayor Low's reelection. His administration had established new municipal standards and every one was anxious for a deliberate and unqualified endorsement of the really great accomplishment of the two years of reform. It did not come,

however; but we need not consequently conclude that all has been lost, or that there will necessarily be a reversion to the former evil conditions. There are some things which, when once done, cannot be wholly undone, and municipal progress is one of them. There may be, in fact there often is, a slight reaction, because, as the chairman of the New York City Republican Committee put it, "people take reform as medicine rather than as food," but the reaction has never been as great as the former advance, and so we have a net progress. The events which have taken place since Mayor McClellan's inauguration, amply support this position. The lid has not been taken off as was pre-

dicted; on the contrary, Police Commissioner McAduo has established a new standard and has refused to allow his deputies to bring his administration into disrepute. He has not waited until they compromised him, he has taken time by the forelock and removed them before they compromised him. The open town has not been inaugurated, and a respectable number of Mayor McClellan's appointees have been most favorably commended. Moreover, his courageous stand in behalf of the city's right to self-government has met with the cordial support of those who have had its true welfare at heart.

The public interest in New York municipal politics is so general, and its experiences as a rule are so typical and illuminating, that a somewhat extended reference to them is justified.

Following the precedent of 1901, the Citizens' Union held a convention in April, 1903, at which a conference committee was appointed to invite the cooperation of those
The Citizens' Union Campaign. bodies that were "unalterably opposed to the domination of Tammany Hall." The first meeting held at the Union's headquarters was attended by delegates representing twelve organizations; subsequently, seven other organizations were invited to participate.

The conference reassembled on September 1, and, a poll being taken, it was found that all the organizations present, with the exception of two, favored the renomination of Mayor Low. After adopting resolutions, commending the administration, the conference adjourned for a week. At the following meeting a letter was read from the mayor in reply to a letter sent him by the chairman of the Citizens' Union, agreeing to accept a renomination and urging the renomination of his associates, Messrs. Grout and Fornes. With the exception of the same two organizations, the action of the conference was unanimous, and the conclusions were ratified by the various conventions of the organizations represented with the exception of the Greater New York Democracy. Towards the end of September, the rumor began to be heard that Tammany Hall intended to nominate Messrs. Grout and Fornes, the Fusion candidates for Comptroller and president of the Board of Aldermen, and to confine its efforts to a fight for the election of George B. McClellan in place of Seth Low. At first it seemed as if the action of Tammany Hall could only help the Fusion cause, but other views eventually prevailed, and the various conventions reconvened, deposed Messrs. Grout and Fornes as Fusion candidates and selected in their stead Frederick W. Hinrichs, of the Borough of Brooklyn, and E. J. McGuire, of the Borough of Manhattan.

The Fusion campaign was of brief duration, but great intensity. The fact that two-thirds of the original Fusion ticket was now being supported by Tammany Hall, while the

New York Fusion Campaign. Fusionists were compelled to criticise the position of men for whom they had lately stood, greatly confused the issues. Instead of being the clear-cut issues of two years previously, the question was much more subtle, and it is not surprising that party ties reasserted themselves. Moreover, sixty thousand Fusionists who had registered failed to vote, and that was the exact size of Mr. McClellan's majority. Although the Fusion vote fell off 44,600 votes, or 15 per cent., as compared with 1901, the Citizens' Union vote increased 10 per cent. over the figures of that year.

Causes of Defeat. The causes ascribed for the defeat were many, but we need only enumerate some of them without attempting to fix their relative importance. Perhaps the most important single factor was the feeling entertained by many Democrats that the result of the election would in some measure influence the outcome of the Presidential election. Tammany's campaign was conducted on a direct appeal to party spirit, and as New York is strongly Democratic, the result was not unexpected. Some observers have attributed the defeat to the rigid enforcement of the excise law following the "liberal policy" which had marked the beginning of Mr. Low's term of office. Others again attributed the change to the hostility of the forces in the city service. The conditions of both the police and firemen had been much improved under the Low regime, but as the rank and file had not gotten everything they wanted, they were dissatisfied. The school-teachers, in gratitude for the prompt-payment system of salary payments instituted by Mr. Grout, undoubtedly worked most energetically in his behalf, and they had a grateful remembrance of the efforts made by John F. Ahern, the Tammany candidate for President of the Borough of Manhattan, during his terms as Senator, in furthering legislation in their interest. Again, many large building contractors and property owners had been offended by the rigorous enforcement of the building laws by the Tenement House Department as well as by the Building Department. All these causes combined are sufficient to account for the change of votes.

The discouraging aspect of the case is, that unswerving defense of the public interest did not convert enough previously hostile votes to offset these interested suffrages. On the other hand, it must not be forgotten that the members of a reform administration become personally unpopular. "They are compelled to antagonize many individuals, while most of their services are to the impersonal public, and not to individuals. As personal resentment is a far stronger motive than general public spirit, a political campaign for the re-election of the reformers frequently results in defeat. Nobody is less grieved individually, at the results, than the defeated reformers themselves, who are personally relieved of an irksome responsibility, but they and their friends grieve much for what they fear is the defeat of the cause. Even if new names are put on the reform ticket, the result is often the same. Reform itself has become unpopular, by reason of the unpopularity of the reformers. So anti-reform wins. What then? Conditions which were once tolerated because they were familiar have ceased to be familiar, and when they are attempted to be revived they are seen in all their real hideousness. The very public sentiment which resulted in their suppression revolts at their revival, and the reform remains, though the reformers go."

There is another cause assigned for the defeat of reform. Too many of Mayor Low's friends conducted a campaign of "unparalleled violence and scurrility." The good points of Mayor Low's truly great accomplishments were left untouched, while his earnest but most unwise supporters were busy declaring that "only thugs and thieves would vote for McClellan." The old dodge of reviling your opponent has lost its efficacy. In a city like New York the voters want a concrete, positive platform. They want to know what has been done, and what is to be done. If Mr. Low's achievements had formed the sole campaign issue, if the speakers had shown how—to use Jacob Riis' expression—"reform had made good," instead of hurling vituperation at Mr. McClellan and his supporters, the results might have been quite different.

As to the progress, it seems to be unquestionable. The administration which has been in control since January 1 has

thus far given New York the best partisan government that the city has ever experienced, and
Progress it is manifest that the enlightened mayoralty of
Accomplished. Seth Low has created a public demand that must hereafter be reckoned with.

As Mayor McClellan has retained in office the head of the Department of Street Cleaning appointed by Mayor Low, that department shows no retrogression. It is too soon to judge of the conduct of the others. That the mayor himself gives every evidence of a sincere desire to administer the city's affairs conscientiously is unmistakable. If he succeeds without encountering serious departmental scandals, it will be because he will have practically assumed the non-partisan attitude.

A roll-call of the cities affords abundance of encouragement. There are many and increasing signs of improvement.

Philadelphia has a mayor in John Weaver who confers with those who for years have been working for the city's welfare. This is a new experience. Possibly other cities may not consider this an advance, but it is a considerable one in Philadelphia, where these same men have been accustomed to having their rights of free petition insolently disregarded. True, Mayor Weaver has not yet broken with the machine; nor has he taken the police out of politics; nor has he rid himself of directors and appointees who will sooner or later bring him

Philadelphia. and his administration into even greater disrepute. On the other hand, he has effected a prompt and satisfactory settlement of the long-standing dispute as to the right of the city treasurer to retain fees over and above his salary, and has compelled two ex-city treasurers to repay about \$80,000 fees illegally retained. He forced the machine to reduce a proposed loan from \$25,000,000 to \$16,000,000; to agree to his plans for an assessment of property for the purposes of taxation at its full value; for a reduction of the tax rate from \$1.85 per \$100 to \$1.50. He awards contracts to the lowest bidders. He has dismissed two policemen who had permitted fraudulent voters to be assessed from their houses. Policy playing has been driven from its accustomed haunts, and is carried on like other forms of gambling, surreptitiously, instead

of openly under police protection, as was the case under previous administrations. Moreover, Mayor Weaver shows a decent regard for public opinion, and seeks to merit the good opinion of his constituents and to justify his conduct in their sight, thus affording a striking contrast to his predecessor, who was contemptuous alike of their opinion and their respect.

In Boston, four out of five candidates endorsed by the Good Government League were selected, and Mayor Collins, who was proved to be an honest, well-meaning official, was re-elected with only a perfunctory opposition, notwithstanding the city was passing through a period of Democratic landslides and partisan retrogression.

In Cambridge, the non-partisan party elected its mayoralty candidate, eight out of eleven aldermen and thirteen out of twenty-two of the Common Councilmen. It also
Cambridge. elected its candidate for principal assessor, and all of its candidates for the School Committee.

For twenty years, more or less, prior to two years ago, national politics had nothing to do with the management of municipal affairs in Cambridge. Two years ago, however, the Democrats nominated candidates and succeeded in electing their candidate for mayor and a minority of their candidates for the Common Council and Board of Aldermen. A year ago they succeeded in re-electing their candidate for mayor and in securing a majority of the aldermen. This year, owing to the excellent organization of the non-partisan party, the result was as indicated above.

In Harrisburg the good work of Mayor Vance C. McCormick has been continued. He has been busy carrying out his platform. The new system of water filtration is
Harrisburg. well advanced toward completion; the new park and parkway system are progressing satisfactorily. The streets are being paved. The police have been divorced from crime. Honest and efficient public service was Mayor McCormick's platform, and he is daily justifying the confidence reposed in him two years ago.

In Baltimore the results of the last election were most satisfactory. Mr. McLane, the Democratic candidate for mayor who was reluctantly accepted by the "ring" because it hoped

his high personal character and excellent record as State's Attorney would "pull through" the rest of the ticket, was elected by a plurality of between 500 and 600; but his two "running mates," who were *really* "ring" candidates, were both beaten. This gave the Republicans two members of the Board of Estimates (the most powerful body created under the new charter),

while the two remaining members, besides the **Baltimore.** mayor himself, must be nominated by a respectable Democratic mayor and confirmed by a

Republican second branch of the City Council; so that the "ring" failed to achieve its ends. On the other hand, the Republicans, by losing the mayoralty and the first branch of the City Council, were very properly rebuked for nominating a man who, as they were fully warned, could not get the independent vote. In one respect this election differed from any of its predecessors: the politicians of both parties were utterly disgusted the next morning.

The result can be summed up as follows: The voters have never before in the history of the municipality so evenly distributed the governing power between two parties in a contest for supremacy. They elected a Democratic mayor, a Republican vice-mayor, a Democratic city register, a Republican city comptroller, a Democratic common council, a Republican select council. Mayor McLane has made many appointments of a high order, and although a party man, has acted as an independent.

Indianapolis likewise established a new record for local independence, defeating by some 6,000 votes the Republican candi-

date, who was supported by the brewery, gambling and corporation combine, with which the **Indianapolis.**

then present mayor was cooperating, and, notwithstanding that strong appeals were made to party prejudices, the two United States Senators mistakenly lending their personal sanction and influence to the "ring," the independents prevailed and overturned the existing corrupt condition of affairs. Moreover, former Attorney General W. H. H. Miller, of President Harrison's cabinet, set a strong example of civic patriotism by vigorously declaring that no party obligation bound him to support an unfit candidate for mayor.

In Chicago the friends of good government again triumphed at the polls on April 6. In the words of the secretary of the Municipal Voters' League the "election taken as a whole is another and a significant victory for independent voting in Chicago. The Sixth Ward has been its most conspicuous battle. Bossism has been ignominiously defeated, while wise party leaders have seen their wisdom ratified at the polls. Apathy has been the one great danger from the first, and in the Twenty-third Ward it has claimed one victory in Alderman Herrmann. His loss will be seriously felt in the council. He had headed the Councilmanic 'graft' investigation and one of the Street Railway Commissions, although his opponent was by no means condemned by the League. As a whole, however, the city is to be most heartily congratulated. Had the forces of decency been united in the Fifth Ward, the hide of a gray wolf skinned in 1901 would have been permanently tanned."

According to the rule of the last four years the new council will be organized on a strictly non-partisan basis, pledges made to the League by a large majority of the incoming members having committed them to a continuation of this policy.

In Kansas City the friends of decency and the Civic League likewise scored a victory on April 6. The then mayor, who had been using his office to further political ends, was sharply rebuked, his candidate for mayor being defeated. Moreover, the Civic League insisted upon the various candidates declaring their attitude on the merit system. It endorsed none who were unfavorable, and as a very considerable number of them were elected, the gain is a pronounced one. The new president of the Upper House is generally regarded as the leading advocate of the merit system in Kansas City.¹

In some respects the most significant event in St. Louis during the year was the action of the Taxpayers' League, which on June 5, 1903, sent the following letter to its members:

"By resolution duly adopted, the Board of Managers of the League, at its last meeting, levied an assessment of five dollars against the mem-

¹ The new administration has not waited for the enactment of a new civil service law or ordinance, but has forthwith established the merit system.

bers, payable on or before June 15. It is worthy of note that this assessment, but half the regular annual assessment permissible under the articles of agreement, is the first one since 1901, and in all probability will be the last for several years to come. The reason is, that owing to the high character of the men now in charge of our city's government there is little or no work for the League to do within the scope of its charter; for the occasion is a rare one indeed when an honest official is guilty of a misuse of public funds. Misappropriations in the vast majority of cases are the fruits of conscious wrong-doing, not of innocent mistake; and if there were any assurance that the administrations to come in the future would reach the high standard of the present one, both in respect of efficiency and integrity, the League might well wind up its affairs. The inability of the managers to indulge this hope has led them to adopt the other alternative, namely, of keeping the organization intact and of waiting, like Micawber, for something 'to turn up.' "

This forms a striking tribute to the honesty and general well meaning of the administration of Mayor Rolla Wells, coming as it does from an organization composed in large part, we are informed, of partisan opponents.

Cleveland has demonstrated its municipal independence in a marked degree. In the April (1903) election, it rebuked state interference in local affairs and re-elected Mr. **Cleveland.** Johnson. In the autumn it rebuked Mr. Johnson's projection of municipal officials into state politics. Both practices are objectionable, and the Cleveland voters rejected both.

The spirit of Cleveland in municipal matters is progressive, and its general trend has been toward good government. The trend in Chicago is certainly upward. So in Rochester, which enjoys the distinction of having had a succession of good mayors, the present one representing a high order of public service. Moreover, this city rescued her schools from politics a few years ago, and last November defeated an effort to bring them again under political influence. The growth of civic spirit and intelligence in Duluth is shown in the efficient management of public utilities; many substantial economies; a lowering of the tax rate and discriminating votes on franchise questions.

Omaha also demonstrated her independence at the November election, and her mayoralty selection represented the earnest desire of the people for a higher plane of municipal administra-

tion. The remarkable achievement of Galveston, Texas, can best be told in the words of a newspaper published in a neighboring competing city. The following is quoted from an editorial appearing in the San Antonio *Express* of March 12, 1904:

"Only a little more than three years ago the city of Galveston was laid waste by one of the most disastrous storms in the history of this country. Thousands of lives were lost and hundreds of families rendered homeless. With the terrible destruction of property and diminishing of property values, with a heavy bonded indebtedness and no funds with which to meet accrued and accruing interest, the city's credit was destroyed and the outlook was most discouraging.

"In her dire extremity Galveston abolished the old order of government and instituted in lieu a system which comprises a mayor and four commissioners, and these were selected with reference to their business and administrative capabilities, just as any business or industrial corporation would select those who were to manage and direct its properties. The result as attested by the splendid record of the municipal government of Galveston, as shown in the official reports, forcibly illustrates what can be done in the management of the affairs of a city. . . . The floating debt of the city on January 1, 1901, as per city auditor's report, was \$204,974.54. This sum has been reduced by the present administration, as per the recently adopted city budget, to \$22,000, without the issuance of a bond or one cent of additional taxation.

"It is also noted by the *Houston Post* that since the great storm, less than four years ago, \$75,000 has been expended for street paving, and in the budget adopted by the City Commission a few days ago, the sum of \$30,000 is set aside for new paving, and there is another fund of \$23,000 for street improvements during the present fiscal year. The sum of \$31,200 is set apart for the maintenance of a charity hospital during the fiscal year, while \$2,000 is set aside for beautifying the parks and esplanades—the playgrounds of the people. The report of the City Treasurer shows at the close of business last month there was \$332,646.25 cash in hand, and \$500,000 in bonded depositories paying the city 3 per cent interest until it is needed in the grade-raising work.

"Such is Galveston. But a little more than three years ago she was stricken almost to death. Her credit became nil, her public buildings were demolished, and her streets were strewn with the wreckage of thousands of homes. To-day, under the wise administration of an able commission of five of the leading citizens, who disregard the clamor of the political spoilsman, and who work from patriotic motives, Galveston has a credit at least unsurpassed by any city in the South. She is doing more public work in proportion to population than any city in the South. And she has the money to pay for this work. Galveston's example in municipi-

pal thrift is a lesson which all cities should learn. It demonstrates what strictly business methods will accomplish, and is a powerful appeal for driving politics out of municipal affairs."

The experience of Galveston shows what American ability can accomplish when it sets itself seriously at work to solve the municipal problem; but one is tempted to ask why should our American cities wait until dire necessity overtakes them before applying business methods to evils that cry aloud for correction?

In San Francisco, the last election for supervisors was highly satisfactory. Most of those members of the old board who during the past four years had proved themselves to be honest and capable officials were re-elected. While some of the newly elected supervisors are as yet untried, it is felt that the majority of the board is made up of men who can be depended upon to work honestly for the best interests of the people.

These, and very many other events of the same character, which have occurred during the past twelve or fifteen months, go a long way to justify the growing conviction that we are making progress in the solution of our American municipal problem. This conviction is more widespread than at any previous time. Reports come from every quarter of the stimulated and sustained interest of a large number of people. The municipal leagues, civic federations, good government clubs, and non-partisan organizations generally, which have been formed and are forming in every part of the land, indicate the advance of the movement of the citizens of the United States toward intelligent and effective self-government.

The signs of improvement to which we have just given attention are mainly due to the activities of bodies like the Municipal Voters' League of Chicago, the Civic League of Kansas City, the Good Government League of Boston, the City Club of Galveston, the Merchants' Association of San Francisco, the Citizens' Association of Chicago. There has been no cessation of activity on the part of the old organizations, and the new ones have added their new-found zeal to the experience of those which have borne the brunt of the fight for years.

A few quotations from the reports and other publications of some of these bodies will illustrate the range and usefulness of their activities as well as their efficiency.

The Detroit Municipal League secured for the first time in any franchise granted by the Common Council, a provision by which the city may inspect the accounts and books of a public service corporation for the purpose of ascertaining the cost of production as a basis for regulating the rates to be charged. It was instrumental in securing the passage of a primary election law for Wayne County; and prepared and procured the adoption of an ordinance establishing an Art Commission in Detroit with powers similar to the New York Art Commission, which has been a potent influence for higher standards.

The Boston Good Government League, the Indianapolis Citizens' League, the Milwaukee Municipal Voters' League, the Pittsburg Civic Voters' League, are all advisory bodies, basing their recommendations, like the Chicago Municipal Voters' League, upon a careful examination of the candidate's personal and public records. The City Club of Galveston is responsible for the present charter and the present excellent government of that city. The City Club and Citizens' Union of New York form the nuclei in New York around which the good government forces rally, the first named contributing the educational, the latter the political, centre.

The Home Protective League of Minneapolis has made it its business to insist upon the enforcement of the law, and especially in so far as it provides for the protection of minors from the evils of the saloon and wine-room. It has just scored a victory in closing up the most notorious and offensive resort in the city. The newly organized City Club of Chicago has already justified its existence. It has not only served as a social rallying-point for municipal reformers of all types, but it has, moreover, made two important investigations: one, that of Mr. Freeman, into the condition of the theatres; the other, that of Captain Piper into, police conditions, the reports on which are valuable both because they add to our knowledge of the conditions, and because of the remedies they propose.

The Legislative Voters' League of Chicago, by its last campaign, brought the Illinois Legislature to the turning-point from

Chicago Legislative Voters' League. bad to good. Such was the strength of the decent element in the Legislature that it overthrew the House organization controlled by a compact minority. The League is now preparing to publish its reports of the records of retiring legislators and enter upon a vigorous campaign along the lines of the Municipal Voters' League to elect decent members from Cook County to the Legislature. Cook County elects fifty-seven of the one hundred and fifty-three State representatives, and nineteen of the fifty-one State Senators; the improvement of Cook County's delegation will therefore make a marked impression on the Legislature. It is unfortunate, but true, that Cook County's delegation in the past has been responsible for the vicious element that originated and controlled the blackmailing business in the Legislature, and was largely arrayed against measures of general public utility; hence any effort to improve its character will, to the extent it succeeds, improve the character of the Legislature.

The Merchants' Association of San Francisco continues to be a model of all that a business body should be for the improvement of local conditions. Always in the front of every aggressive movement for increasing the scope and usefulness of municipal activities, it never hesitates to call to a strict account those guilty of reprehensible shortcomings, or of inefficiency, or of prostitution of public functions to private ends. When the commercial organizations of this land as generally and successfully rise to the full opportunities for usefulness in municipal work, as has the Merchants' Association of San Francisco, then will we be well along toward successful municipal government.

The Los Angeles Municipal League is another most useful body. It is becoming recognized as a body of municipal experts, primarily and deeply interested in the public welfare. It has been responsible for the introduction of a very considerable measure of civil service reform; it has secured the audit of the city's books; it has fathered various important improvements, and by its knowledge and timely criticism has materially aided in the right solution of numerous local problems.

It has been forcefully pointed out, "the meaning of all these various citizens' organizations is that, it having become manifest that righteous laws will not enact themselves and, being enacted, will not enforce themselves against the will of evil men and women, they have begun to take upon themselves the responsibility for, not only the laws which affect their conditions, but for the law and administration which must play so large a part in the organized life of society."

There is still another group of organizations from which much is to be expected. I refer to those composed of municipal officials like the League of American Municipalities, the American Society for Municipal Improvements and the various state leagues like those in Wisconsin, Michigan, California, Iowa, Ohio, Indiana, Alabama, and among the cities of the third class in Pennsylvania. The first three maintain monthly publications that are devoted to the discussion of the various needs of the cities, and to the general phases of the problem. Moreover, their annual meetings serve to bring together for a profitable interchange of views and experience those charged with active municipal duties. The League of Michigan Municipalities now holds a joint meeting with the Michigan Political Science Association. At their last meeting, which was held at the University of Michigan, thus introducing another and most important factor, the following were among the questions discussed: Of a general nature—some requisites of a good city charter, direct primary elections, improvements in municipal administration and uniform municipal accounting; of a more restricted and local nature, sanitary sewers in small cities, macadam pavements, public works in Detroit, some legal aspects of special assessments.

Who, ten years ago, would have thought of prophesying that mayors, councilmen and other city officials would meet at a great university to discuss with political scientists the questions incident to municipal administration, and yet that is exactly what occurred in Michigan last February, and what is likely to occur again next year, for the secretary of this

**National and
State
Leagues.**

**Interest of
Municipal
Officials.**

League of Michigan Municipalities is a professor of municipal administration in the University of Michigan, and the author of a valuable text-book on this subject. Moreover, the secretary of the Wisconsin League of Municipalities is a college professor and alderman, and in that State, as in Michigan, there is a happy cooperation of all the various elements interested in municipal problems for their solution, with the result that the cities there are making more rapid progress than perhaps those of any of the other States in the Union.

The work of the League of Iowa Municipalities is likewise of a most wholesome and encouraging character. **League of Iowa Municipalities.** At its last annual meeting the following resolutions were adopted, and a committee on legislation appointed to carry them out so far as practicable.

WHEREAS, the Iowa League of Municipalities, recognizing the vitally important necessity of the construction of permanent roadways, pavements, and of other municipal improvements and utilities in the State of Iowa, and of improved methods in constructing and maintaining such roadways, pavements, and other municipal improvements and utilities, deem it advisable and necessary that ample and detailed information regarding all proper municipal activities be secured and made available to the cities and towns of Iowa,

Now therefore be it Resolved, That the Governors and Trustees of our State educational institutions be and are hereby respectfully petitioned and requested to secure and publish in bulletin or such other forms as may be deemed proper, the information called for herein.

Be it further Resolved, That the General Assembly of the State of Iowa be and is hereby petitioned to place at the disposal of such State educational institutions such an amount of money as will be necessary to make such investigation of practical value and assistance to the municipalities of Iowa.

The League also adopted resolutions to the effect that the General Assembly be petitioned: to extend to cities of the second class power to purchase, erect, extend and improve municipal water-works plants and facilities, as now enjoyed by cities of the first class; to give incorporated towns power to construct sanitary sewers and assess the cost of the same on real property

abutting on or benefited by their construction; to grant to cities and towns, including cities acting under special charter, the power to construct and maintain sewage and garbage disposal plants, and to condemn land upon which to construct and maintain such plants; to give cities and towns the power to levy and collect special taxes for the purpose of constructing city buildings and to create street improvement districts, to provide by proper legislation for a system of uniform municipal accounting by all cities and towns and for the annual examination of the accounts of all cities and towns by the State auditor.

Surely such activities on the part of those who have heretofore been looked upon as the natural obstacles, if not opponents of municipal improvement, is in the highest degree encouraging. True, most of these state leagues are composed of municipalities with a population of less than 100,000 each; but if these can be rescued from inefficiency and worse, and made models of good government, the influence will be most beneficial. Moreover, the larger cities are beginning to take an interest in such meetings and especially in those of the League of American Municipalities. At the last annual session of this body, meeting in Baltimore, Mayor McLane of that city (and of whose excellent administration we have already spoken), in his address of welcome, voiced the sentiment of those who believe that there is progress in municipal matters and that such bodies as those we have been considering are important factors in this progress. He said in part:

"The very existence of this League is a potent sign of the times. The average citizen has at last awakened thoroughly to the fact that it is to his best interest that municipal affairs be administered upon the same principles as those of a private corporation. He has come to realize that the old system, under which municipal administration was merely an eleemosynary institution for the support of the office-holder, was very agreeable for the office-holder, but very expensive for the taxpayers. So that to-day, despite all the obstacles still remaining, there is a strong public opinion in favor of the view that municipal officials ought to occupy the same relation to the taxpayers as that occupied by the officials of a private corporation to its stockholders.

"This public opinion has become so pronounced that no party can hope to succeed that persists in regarding it as a negligible quantity. And

it is this strong public opinion which is behind the League, which is no mere assembly of theorists having no practical effect on affairs, but is made up of officials from all over the country, who are seeking to improve conditions by introducing into their respective municipal departments business methods of economy and efficiency."

Another fact of marked and encouraging significance is the bringing of such bodies as the League of American Municipalities, the American Park and Outdoor Art Association, the American League for Civic Improvement, the Architectural League, the Eastern Conference of Public Education Associations and the

National Civic Bodies.	National Municipal League into an Alliance of Civic Organizations to be composed of associations having for an object "the improvement of political, educational, artistic, sanitary, material or moral conditions in American cities, and to
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facilitate an exchange, accumulation and distribution of pertinent information, to promote a more complete understanding and cooperation among its members, and to assist them in increasing influence and efficiency and avoiding any unnecessary duplication or overlapping of their respective lines of work."

This is unquestionably a step forward, and follows a movement in which this League has been deeply interested from the start, and to which it has given an active support. The whole question was discussed at length at the Detroit meeting by Messrs. J. H. McFarland and Charles Richardson, of our own executive committee, and by Charles Mulford Robinson and Charles Carroll Brown. As to the need for such an alliance there is now practically no difference of opinion nor as to its opportunities for usefulness. Just as the National Municipal League was needed to bring into harmonious and effective cooperation for an exchange of opinions and a formulation of plans those who were and are interested in the highly important political, administrative and educational phases of the municipal problem, so now there is need for an effective coordination of all the various bodies at work in various parts of the same field.

Now that the first steps (which are always the hardest) have been taken in the national field, it is to be hoped that similar

steps will be taken in all our larger communities. One of the most marked evidences of interest in this whole question has been the rapid multiplication of organizations. This in a way is desirable, but to prove of the highest usefulness there must be harmony and coordination of effort. There is no doubt of the need of various organizations, first, to interest different classes of people; secondly, to lay emphasis on and give direct attention and regard to the different phases of the question; but these different parts must work together as do the different parts of the body.

Already steps to bring about local cooperation, at least along certain lines, have been taken in Philadelphia, Chicago and San Francisco, and along more general lines in New York. In Philadelphia there has been formed a federation of all the local improvement associations and of societies interested in such matters to secure the adoption of a broad and comprehensive scheme of outer parks and parkways. In Chicago a Neighborhood League has been formed to bring into closer relationship the improvement associations of the South Side, and the Cook County League of Improvement Societies is seeking to do the same thing in connection with the bodies scattered throughout the city. In New York there is a strong effort being made to establish a Civic Council which shall be a clearing house for all civic, philanthropic, social and political forward movements. Thus far, progress has been slow. This is inevitable because of the diversity of opinion and interest; but it is bound to succeed, because it is just as inevitable and as necessary as a clearing house in financial transactions.

The Civic Week at St. Louis in June, and the Civic Week at Chautauqua in July, will also undoubtedly assist in bringing about not only a clearer understanding of the work, but result in a more harmonious cooperation in the future. The workers along the various lines must come in closer contact. They must come to know each other as well as what each is doing. The meetings of our own League serve this purpose for those who are interested along our own lines and to an increas-

Civic ing degree to those who are interested along
Weeks. other lines as well. The Civic Alliance will make
the work of each known to all, and civic weeks,
whether at St. Louis or at Chautauqua or at any other important
gathering place, must and will serve an important function in
making workers personally known to each other.

In commenting on the Model Street, which is to be a part of
the St. Louis Exposition, and of the Civic Week which is to be
held within its borders, the St. Louis *Dispatch* said: "Each
organization will appoint a representative to expound its plans,
work and achievements, and its relation to the work of municipal
betterment. Papers will be read by men of experience and repu-
tation to explain municipal problems. The model city plans
have thus grown in a brief time into a national movement for
the promotion of civic ideals. That the exhibit would produce
many benefits was expected and intended. But it is improbable
that such promising results were so soon anticipated. The
municipal feature of the World's Fair will be one of the most
interesting, instructive and beneficial, as well as one of the most
important in many respects."

Perhaps the day may soon come when all the numerous
active forces for municipal regeneration will be brought together
into as effective body as the National Educational Society now is,
along educational lines, and as the American Society for the
Advancement of Science is along scientific lines. Such events
as we have been describing are certainly making in this direction,
and it is the duty of every one interested in the welfare of
American municipalities to lay aside his personal prejudices or
predilections and to work for the increase of the efficiency of all by
giving to the spirit of combination and coordinated effort, which
characterizes the present day, full play along municipal lines.

In view of what has just been said there would seem to be
no need for more organizations, but there has been established
in New York a Juvenile City League, which is
New York deserving not only of serious attention and
Juvenile study, but, moreover, of imitation. The idea is
City League. not altogether a new one, for there have been
good citizenship clubs in existence in Philadel-

phia formed for somewhat similar ends, which have proved helpful and successful, and the St. Louis Civic Improvement League has established a series of junior leagues to bring the children of that city into line.

The Juvenile City League of New York is an organization of boys' clubs started on the middle West Side to lead the boys into a right attitude toward their city and its government by getting them to perform such simple duties as are natural and proper for them to observe. The League originated with the chairman of the Committee on Streets of the Woman's Municipal League. The first activity of the League has been toward keeping the streets clean. The work was started on the middle West Side, because the Children's School Farm was located there. This was distinctly advantageous, as Mrs. Henry Parsons, who had charge of the farms, had intimate knowledge of the neighborhood. The work was placed in charge of Mr. William Chauncey Langdon, Instructor in History at Pratt Institute, as director, and he had Mr. Ralph H. Ferris, of the Union Theological Seminary, and three others as assistants.

Two months' work brought about one thousand three hundred boys into forty-two clubs, extending from West Thirty-seventh to West Fifty-seventh street. Every club represents a separate block. The Department of Street Cleaning has placed on every block where the League has organized a club one of its paper and fruit-skin cans for the use of the boys, thus encouraging them in their civic interest and facilitating their efforts to keep their street clean. In this way the boys have accomplished a great deal, not only in picking up papers and rubbish in the street, but in refraining from throwing things into the street, and using their influence with their companions. They have also reported nuisances to the League office, and thus expedited their removal. They have helped to disseminate the notices and regulations of the department.

A series of cards has been published for the members on such subjects as "Keep Your Street Clean," "Take Care of Your Garbage," "Have Gentlemanly Manners," "Put only Ashes in the Ash Can." These cards give a few specific directions with clear reasons therefor, and a paragraph of appropriate informa-

tion, all as simply expressed as possible. There was also a card on Colonel Waring.

Through the kindness of the Department of Street Cleaning and the Department of Corrections, there has been a series of excursions from the foot of East Twenty-third street to Riker's Island to see the fillings where the Street Cleaning Department is making real estate from the ashes and rubbish of the city. Through the kindness of the Health Department there has also been a series of excursions around the city by boat from West Fiftieth street to Hell Gate and back, giving the boys a good idea of the city and of its institutions. The director has received from the commissioners of the various city departments, on the mere statement of his purpose, the utmost encouragement and assistance. The League has sought to work out such a scheme of civic activity as would prove adaptable to the local conditions of any neighborhood, and might ultimately be spread over the whole city and through all the five boroughs. The important lesson taught has been that of the necessity of personal effort and co-operation.

What with the school cities and the various other efforts at student self-government, with junior leagues and clubs such as are to be found in New York, Chicago, St. Louis, Philadelphia, Omaha, all utilizing the **Work among Children.** inherent natural desire for organization, the playgrounds and school gardens, the work of the National Municipal League's Committee on Instruction in Municipal Government, there is abundant evidence that the American people are awakening to the necessity of getting the children started right in the discharge of their duties as citizens.

From Boston comes a suggestion which is worthy of adoption in every city of the land. For two successive years now, there has been held in Faneuil Hall a "New Voters' Festival," arranged by the Boston Equal Suffrage Association for Good Government. The object of the festival is to interest those of the new generation who are about to assume the duties standing highest in the obligations of citizenship and to direct their ideas along high planes. This year the Freeman's Oath of 1634, "I do solemnly

New Voters' Festival. bind myself that I will give my vote and suffrage as I shall judge in mine own conscience may best conduce to the public weal, so help me God," was taken with impressive solemnity by a large audience of men from eighteen to twenty-two years of age, standing with their right hand uplifted, while repeating the words. The Right Rev. William Lawrence, Bishop of Massachusetts, gave the "Welcome to New Voters;" the Hon. Thomas J. Gargan spoke of "Civic Patriotism;" Louis D. Brandeis of "Good Government," and Father Barry on "The Naturalized Citizen." President Pritchett of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology closed with an address on the "Duties of Public Servants." This effort to impress the rising generation with their duties as citizens of "no mean city" is worthy of repetition everywhere and every year, so that the constantly increasing groups of new guardians of our political life may know the full measure of their responsibility and trust.

In the matter of municipal civil service reform the year has been one of activity rather than one of completed results. In San Francisco a number of attempts were made to undermine the civil service law in various departments. These, however, were met and successfully overcome by the vigilance and activity of the Merchants' Association. The New York Merchants' Association has likewise been active in resisting attempts to break down the New York law and to increase the number of exempted positions. The activity of representative business bodies in behalf of the merit system is most significant, and establishes a precedent which should be followed in every community, for no other class is more directly or more deeply interested in an economic administration.

In Denver there have been two charter conventions, one of which failed to frame a charter which the electors would adopt. The last charter submitted had been worked out with political ends in view, and the civil service provisions were accordingly affected by political considerations; although they represent "something," as one correspondent puts it. In Massachusetts there is a movement on foot to extend the provisions of the civil

service law to employes of counties, and a charter commission is at work in Minneapolis upon a charter which will contain civil service provisions covering the police and fire departments.

The administration of Edward W. Bemis, of the Cleveland Water Bureau, upon a strict merit basis, continues to receive the commendation it deserves as one of the best administered in the city. Greatly to the credit of Mayor Johnson, he has not permitted political considerations to interfere in the slightest in the conduct of this department.

Chicago has established a precedent of far-reaching importance in the recent selection of the Chief Sanitary Inspector of the Health Department. As a result of the Hull House investigation into the sanitary conditions of the Nineteenth Ward, the former incumbent of that office resigned. A civil service examination was necessary to provide a successor. The law requires candidates for examination to have been residents for one year, although this restriction may be waived where the position demands expert ability. The City Homes Associations succeeded in having the examinations for a chief sanitary inspector thrown open to persons outside the State, and Mr. Ball, who had been an inspector in the New York Tenement House Department under Commissioner DeForest, secured the highest mark and was appointed. Strong opposition set in against Mr. Ball, but he is now discharging the duties of the office, and Chicago has set an excellent example to other communities of obtaining expert assistance in important matters regardless of geographical limitations, a policy that has always been characteristic of private enterprise, but which municipalities have been slow to follow.¹ Cambridge, Mass., is seeking to have the merit system extended to the heads of departments. The Kansas City Civic League supported only those who were known to be friendly to the establishment of the merit system, with the success already noted. An ordinance was recently introduced there providing for putting the water department under civil service regulations.²

¹ The force of this example has been somewhat weakened by the fact that the local court has since determined that the Commissioners had no authority in law to waive the one-year residence provision, but an appeal has been taken from this decision.

² The new administration has established the merit system of appointments without waiting for the enactment of an ordinance or law.

Thanks to the activity of the Los Angeles Municipal League, the police and fire bureaus of that city have been established on the merit basis. In Philadelphia, Mayor Weaver has thrown open the examinations (which had been closed to everyone during the Ashbridge administration) to representatives of the local civil service reform associations.

In New York, since the change of parties on the first of January, the new administration has made numerous efforts to discover or create places to satisfy party workers to whom promises of reward had been made during the campaign. A number of new exemptions have been asked for and obtained; but a number have been defeated. The most important attack in the line of exemptions was the attempt on the part of the Municipal Commission to carry through the exemption of the office of the Deputy Tax Commissioner, involving some sixty places. This attempt was strongly opposed by the New York Civil Service Reform Association and the Merchants' Association at every step, and the State Commission refused to take these positions out of the competitive class.

The whole subject of the municipal ownership, control and operation of public service franchises continues to occupy an important place in the various cities. That the **Municipal** voters are generally favorable to municipal own-
Ownership. ership has been illustrated time and again, and as late as April 6 in a most emphatic manner in the Chicago vote on the Mueller bill, when 120,744 were cast in its favor and but 50,893 against it. Whenever the question has been submitted in Chicago, the majority in favor of the policy of municipal ownership has been overwhelming, possibly because the condition is so acute, but more than likely because the people are profoundly convinced that the supply of water, lighting, transportation, as important municipal functions, should be controlled by the public and not by any individuals or private corporation, no matter how honest or efficient. But it is not alone in Chicago that the sentiment favors such a policy. There are numerous municipalities throughout the country that have adopted or are about adopting it. Word comes from Duluth, Minn., for instance, that "in the course of five and one-

half years' operation by the municipality, through its Water and Light Board, the water rates have been reduced one-third and the gas rates from \$1.90 to 90 cents per one thousand feet for illuminating purposes, and from \$1.00 to 75 cents for fuel purposes. In addition to this saving to the consumer in rate reduction of approximately a quarter million dollars, there is now on hand an accumulated surplus of \$90,000, and the department has expended \$276,000 in interest on the bonded cost of a supplementary system constructed by the city and essential to a pure water supply. The service given is absolutely of the best and universally satisfactory."

From Meadville, Pa., we learn that "the city is entirely satisfied with the public ownership of the water-works and the electric-lighting plant." Lincoln, Neb., has so successfully conducted her water-works that she proposes to furnish electric lights. In Burlington, Vt., the election turned on the municipal ownership of the electric light, those favoring the proposition prevailing.

The Ontario (Canada) Legislature has just completed a report on the whole subject, to which some reference will be made in the address of Professor Mavor. The Legislature of Nebraska has passed a law compelling the city government of Omaha to take over the water-works. The experience of the Sioux City (Iowa) Municipal League is illustrative of what public opinion,

	when sufficiently aroused and intelligently and
Sioux City	effectively guided, can accomplish. Shortly
Municipal	after this body was organized the local gas and
League's	electric company asked the city council for a
Achievement.	twenty-five years gas and electric franchise with-
	out offering any return whatever to the people

of the city. The League immediately took up the matter, and demanded concessions, which, of course, were refused. The council, instead of joining in the demand, passed the ordinance and ordered the submission of the franchise to a vote of the people, in compliance with the statute. The League immediately organized for a fight, and was so successful in securing the support of public sentiment that the gas company withdrew its franchise shortly before the date fixed for the election. A com-

mittee of the League subsequently met the management of the gas company and succeeded in securing the following concessions:

1. An immediate reduction in the price of gas of ten cents per M, and a further provision that the prices should be reduced five cents per M per annum until the price reaches \$1.00.
2. The payment of 2 per cent of the gross receipts to the city.
3. A provision for the purchase of the plant by the city at the end of ten years or any five years thereafter at the cost of duplication. It was over this provision that the company held out the longest.
4. The surrender of all its unexpired franchises.
5. A provision for inspection.
6. A provision for the placing of all electric wires in underground conduits when the councils should demand it.

Sioux City now has, it is contended, as good a gas and electric franchise ordinance as any city in the West.

Recently an independent company asked for a telephone franchise. The League secured a 4-per-cent-gross-receipt provision; a provision for a forfeiture in the event of a sale to a competing company, and a provision for the placing of all wires underground within a certain district, and a provision that the company shall permit all independent toll lines to enter the city through its exchange.

The movements for uniform municipal accounting and reports continue to grow with undiminished vigor. Our own committee, which has contributed so much to their progress and has served to coordinate the various bodies and committees interested, will report on the details, but there are several features which call for mention in this review.

Late in 1903 the United States Census Bureau called a conference to consider ways and means for assisting the government in ascertaining, by the establishment of a uniform system, the yearly financial condition of the cities. It was attended by a representative group of auditors, comptrollers, expert accountants, students of the question. This governmental recognition of the need for uniform accounts and reports and the prompt response of city officials, augur well for the future. City after city is falling into line, and the day is not far distant

when students will be able to avail themselves of a fairly extensive set of uniform reports dealing with municipal business. The cities of the second and third classes in New York, as all the Ohio cities, are already under the necessity of preparing such reports, and in all the more important cities the question is being agitated.

There is a provision in the California law that has proven to be most useful. Once a year a grand jury must meet in each county and appoint experts to go through the various books of the locality to ascertain if everything is in order. The great value of this practice lies in the fact that it provides the needed ounce of prevention.

There is as constant an agitation for charter reform as reported in previous years. The demands upon the League for information concerning charters, and especially about the Municipal Program, continues to increase. The need for a larger measure of municipal home rule is becoming more apparent and the demand for it increasing.

The overwhelming Democratic victory in Boston last December represents to a very considerable extent the resentment of the voters at the efforts of the State Legislature to use the city government for partisan purposes. In other words, it was a rebuke to those who were seeking to deprive Boston of self-government. In New York there is a growing discontent over the fact that the time of the people of the city is so largely taken up in defending themselves against legislative interference, or in asking power to do something it ought to have had already ample power to do, as, for instance, to make its own gas or electric light, or to operate its own subways. In Ohio there is a constant contest to restrict the Legislature's interference in local matters.

The home rule provisions in the Minnesota Constitution may result in frequent local changes, but it compels people to look to themselves and not to somebody elsewhere for the remedy for local ills, and, moreover, they can try experiments without inconveniencing anyone but themselves.

Nomination reform continues to occupy the time and attention of a large part of the country. The Luce law has been

given a fair opportunity in Boston and some other cities of Massachusetts. It has been only moderately successful; but if it has fallen short of expectations it is because it did not go far enough in the direction of affording the voters a full, fair and adequate opportunity of expressing their purposes and interest.

Nomination The League's own Commission on Nomination
Reform. Reform presents its report at this session, and
further reference to this subject is therefore

unnecessary, except possibly to call attention to the statement put out by the Michigan League of Republican Clubs: "Primary election reform in Michigan means the nomination of candidates for public office by direct vote of the people. The great reformatations effected in our general elections through the Australian ballot inspire us with confidence to apply the same method in making nominations, so that every voter may exercise his sovereign right of choice by direct vote without the intervention or interference of any political agency. The people of Michigan demand the enactment of such a law. We therefore demand that caucuses and conventions for the nomination of candidates for office be abolished by legislative enactment and that all candidates for state, legislative, congressional and county offices be nominated at a primary election, upon the same day, by direct vote, under the Australian ballot."

While there are many difficulties and dangers in the path of our municipalities to a higher life, it cannot be denied there is a distinctive trend toward better things all the time and all along the line. There is an immense amount of work yet to be done, and members of the National Municipal League need not sigh for other problems to solve; nevertheless a calm review of the disclosures and developments of the past year justifies the conclusion that there has been a steady and substantial progress toward better conditions.

The Denver Situation and the Rush Amendment

By Professor FRANK H. H. ROBERTS

University of Denver

The history of Denver begins with the organization of the Charles Town Association, September 24, 1858. The town-site was located east of Cherry Creek and south of the Platte. A large stake was driven at the southwest corner and a "four-log improvement" was built, to maintain title. By November 1, several men had organized the Auraria Town Company and had located their town-site west of Cherry Creek and south of the Platte. Both of these companies adopted constitutions and by-laws, but the Auraria Company provided for the taxing of holders of lots and issued script binding Auraria, and not the town-site company, to redeem the same.

As soon as the St. Charles Company had organized and taken possession of their town-site, six of the nine organizers went to the capital of the territory of Kansas to secure, from the legislature, articles of incorporation. They had not yet reached their destination when the Denver City Town Company, in true Western style, "jumped" the claim of the St. Charles Company. The Denver Company sent representatives to secure the incorporation of the "Denver City Town Company." But the territorial legislators were considering the bill incorporating the St. Charles Company, when the Denver Company's representatives reached the capital. The Denver Company now tried in vain to have a bill incorporating their company substituted for the St. Charles Company's bill. While the Denver Company failed in convincing the legislature of the justice of its claim, the victory of the St. Charles Company was an empty one, for it soon lost all its rights to the more aggressive Denver Company.

The discovery of gold brought great numbers into the Pike's

Peak country, which was far from the seat of territorial government. It was but a step from city-building to State-building, and in 1859 that step was taken. Delegates from the various parts of the "Gold Regions of Kansas" met and adopted a State Constitution, erecting the State of Jefferson with an extent somewhat larger than the State of Colorado. The labors of the convention were not yet finished when public sentiment began to oppose a State organization because of the expense necessary to maintain it. The members of the convention, however, were determined that some form of government should be erected; hence, in addition to the adoption of a State Constitution, a memorial to Congress praying for a territorial government was prepared.

Both propositions were submitted to the voters—the ratification of the constitution and the approval of the memorial.

The memorial received the larger vote. This **State-Territory of Jefferson.** resulted in a new constitutional convention, which modified the first constitution and erected a new State under the fiction that they were establishing a territory, and called it the "Territory of Jefferson." This second constitution was almost unanimously ratified, and a full complement of State officers were elected October 24, 1859.

The first General Assembly of the State-Territory of Jefferson granted a charter to the "City of Denver, Auraria and Highland" (Highland was a "town on paper" **First Charter.** north of the Platte). This charter is interesting for three reasons: it allowed municipal ownership, beyond or within the city limits, of cemeteries, water-works, etc.; it gave the city no power to grant franchises, and it furnished a model for the many subsequent charters granted by the legislatures of the territory and State of Colorado. It is also interesting to note that the mayor, who presided over the Council and cast the deciding vote in case of a tie, had the veto power over all legislation, but the Council might pass an ordinance over the mayor's veto by a majority vote.

First City Governments. In a few days after the charter was granted, the citizens of Denver met and elected the city officers, whose early energies promised to meet

the emergencies of brisk Western life, but within less than a year the city government had degenerated into utter worthlessness.

In September, 1860, a mass convention adopted a constitution for the "People's Government of the City of Denver." This constitution, which contained twenty articles, established a State rather than a city government. The constitution was ratified and the city was governed under its provisions until a charter was granted by the first territorial legislature in 1861. The acts of this quasi city-state were made valid by Sec. 8, Art. VIII, of this new charter.

This state, territorial-state, city and city-state building was within the boundaries of the territory of Kansas and on Indian lands. In 1860 the rights of the Indians were extinguished by treaty. By an act of Congress, 1864, property rights were secured to those who held lots in Denver.

The first legal charter which closely followed the Jefferson charter, with slight amendments in matters of eminent domain and taxes, stood until 1866, when it was re-enacted, giving the city the right to construct two ferries on the Platte. The same legislature granted two franchises, one to the "Denver Horse-Railroad Co.," the other to the Consolidated Gas-Light Co., both franchises carrying exclusive privileges, but limited as to time. The various legislatures were continually tinkering with the charter of Denver, either amending it or re-enacting it, making no vital changes in its form, but adding restrictive and explanatory clauses, with the exception of the sessions of 1889 and 1891.

As early as 1889 the people "had become so dissatisfied with the conduct of the city government by officers of their own choosing that they importuned the General Assembly to create the Board of Public Works, the members of which were to be appointed by the governor." In 1891, in response to public demand, the Fire and Police Board was created, and its members were to be appointed by the governor. It is said that the first boards appointed by the governor governed the city quite satisfactorily until 1894, when a dispute between the governor and two of his appointees on the Fire and Police Board brought the city to the very verge of civil war. The governor removed the two mem-

bers that belonged to his own party, but they refused to surrender their office, barricaded the City Hall, while the governor called out the militia and asked for U. S. troops from Fort Logan. Three hundred regulars were detailed to maintain order. When the City Hall was surrounded and it seemed impossible to avoid a conflict the governor submitted the whole question to the Supreme Court, which decided that the governor could summarily remove members of the boards, but had violated the constitution in calling out the militia of his own initiation. Instead of accepting the court's decision at once, the governor threatened to declare military law, but on the following day he applied to the courts for an order to restrain the members of the old board from acting, and the "City Hall War" was over.

This occurrence and the powerful political machine built up in the city under the Fire and Police Board led to a demand, by public sentiment, for home rule. In the summer of 1898 the City Council passed an ordinance creating a charter convention to prepare a charter for submission to the General Assembly. This convention met and adopted a charter and asked the legislature that met in 1899 to enact it into law. The bill was introduced in the Senate and recommended for passage by the committee of the whole, but failed to become a law.

The main features were, certain elective officers were to be ex-officio members of the Fire and Police Board and the Board of Public Works, and municipal ownership was provided for. A close study of this charter and the Rush amendment leads to the conclusion that either the same hand wrote both or the charter was a model for the Rush amendment.

The next important step in legislating for Denver was taken in 1901, when the thirteenth session of the General Assembly submitted to the qualified voters of the State an amendment to the Colorado Constitution to be known as the "Twentieth Article." "The proposed amendment received the endorsement of every political party and the support of all the Denver papers and was ratified by the largest vote ever cast for an amendment" (Justice Steele). On December 1 the governor issued his proclamation declaring the amendment ratified and in full force. At

once the constitutionality of this amendment was attacked in the case, *State of Colorado ex rel. Elder, Treasurer, v. Sours, Treasurer*. It was objected that the amendment violated the State Constitution in five particulars, the United States Constitution and the enabling act in one particular each, and was repugnant to the Declaration of Independence. The most interesting objection was that a republican form of government was not required. The Supreme Court sustained the constitutionality of the amendment, two consenting and one dissenting.

The twentieth article, known as the Rush amendment, guarantees home rule to the city and county of Denver. The laws existing at the time of its ratification were declared to be, for the time only, the charter of Denver, and the people were vested with exclusive power to make, alter, revise or amend their charter. The council was required to provide for the election of twenty-one persons to constitute a charter convention. The Rush amendment requires every charter to provide for initiative and referendum; and civil service in the departments of fire and police, and board of public utilities and works; and no granting of franchises without the assenting vote of a majority of the qualified taxpaying electors.

The question has arisen, Has the State any control over the city and county of Denver? The amendment says: "The citizens of Denver shall have the exclusive power to amend their charter or adopt a new charter or to adopt any measure . . . in harmony with this amendment," which contains this positive prohibition, the "tax rate for State purposes fixed by act of the General Assembly" shall not be diminished or the collection of State taxes must not be interfered with. The amendment provides that territorial annexations and consolidations shall be consummated under State laws. All this would seem to indicate that Denver is "absolutely free from all constitutional restraint and from any supervision by the General Assembly" (*Justice Campbell in State of Colorado ex rel. Elder v. Sours*).

But Justice Steele, in the same case, writing the opinion of the majority of the court affirming the constitutionality of the amendment, remarked: "The provision that 'every charter shall

designate the officers who shall, respectively, perform the acts and duties required of county officers to be done by the constitution or by the general law, as far as applicable' contradicts the assumption that this regards such duties as being subject to local regulation and control." But he agreed with Justice Campbell that the amendment was for the expressed purpose of securing to the people of Denver absolute freedom from legislative interference in matters of local concern.

The first charter convention used such language as this: "The jurisdiction of the county court shall be as prescribed by the Constitution, general law, and the charter."

First Proposed Charter. A member of the second convention says: "We named the officer to perform strictly county duties and then required him to be guided by the general laws and the Constitution of the State; but in matters purely municipal the officer's duties were either stated in the charter or left to be provided by ordinance."

The first charter convention was in session from June 9 to August 1, 1903. The friends of civil service, referendum and municipal ownership were in absolute control. They had been elected on a civic ticket. An ideal charter was framed and submitted to the people and overwhelmingly defeated. The charter antagonized too many interests. It was fought by the officers who remain in office until a charter is ratified by the holders of franchises, by the machine, by the saloonkeepers, and many unselfish educated citizens; on the other hand, it received its chief support from its framers and their immediate following and the ministers of the city, who gave their support mainly because the charter prohibited the sale of liquor in certain districts.

Some provisions of the first proposed charter:

1. The mayor was given power to appoint and remove heads of departments at pleasure.
2. Elective officers might be removed from office by a petition signed by thirty per centum of the voters of the city and a subsequent majority vote of the electors.
3. Franchises were declared property subject to taxation.
4. No franchise could be granted except on a majority vote of taxpaying electors.

5. Initiative and referendum could be exercised on petition of five per centum of the electors.

6. Precinct local option should be submitted to the electors at the second election held under the charter.

The second convention has met the expectation of the public. Every feature of her charter is radically conservative.

To avoid constant change in the legislation of the council twenty-five per centum of the qualified voters must sign a petition in order to exercise the right of referendum or initiative.

The civil service was reduced to a minimum, the power of recall was omitted and the rights of franchise-holders were protected as far as possible. The Rush amendment requires that no franchises be granted but by vote of taxpaying electors. While this charter follows the requirements of the constitution, it permits the council to grant "a license or permit at any time, in or to any street, . . . provided such license or permit shall be revocable at any time."

March 29, 1904, this charter was ratified by a vote of 18,941 to 8,584. Three elements enter into the approval of the second charter:

1. A radical change in public opinion. In 1901 no one dared to oppose home rule, but now the people approve the work of a convention that thwarted home rule as far as it could be done legally.

2. A desire to bring the charter convention to an end.

3. And to avoid the expense of constantly recurring elections.

Denver is just at the most interesting point in her history. The government of the "City and County of Denver" is unique. To what extent is Denver free to legislate? What are strictly city affairs? Where is the line between city and county affairs? Has the council transgressed the boundary of its legitimate power? Has the General Assembly the right to legislate for the city and county of Denver? These and other innumerable questions will lead to endless litigation.

Another phase of the legal status of Denver that was not overlooked when the constitutionality of the twentieth article was argued in the case, *Elder v. Sours*, is this: Denver is not

required to have a republican form of government. She may call her mayor, king or emperor, and make his office hereditary and have the city council chosen from an hereditary body of nobles, and the State is powerless to interfere. The position of Denver is indeed anomalous—it is neither a city nor a State.

It is true that this is denied by many friends of the twentieth amendment, but many friends and enemies of the amendment believe that a change of the personnel of the Supreme Court would mean a change in the ruling of that body on the constitutionality of the amendment.

The Municipal Situation in Cambridge, Mass.

By H. N. WHEELER, Cambridge

President, Good Government League of Cambridge

A glance at the early history of Cambridge reveals many similarities between the civic problems of the seventeenth and the twentieth centuries, and points out that most of the roots of the good and the evil in our institutions began their growth between two and three hundred years ago.

In Young's Chronicles we read—in regard to the prevention of fire in dwellings in 1631, the year after New Towne, now Cambridge, began its existence—"For the prevention whereof in our new town . . . we have ordered that no man shall build his chimney with wood."

We are told that in 1632 the Court of Assistants imposed a tax of 60 pounds sterling upon "the several plantations within the lymitts of this pattent towards the making of a pallysadoe about the New Towne." The **Early Town History.** palisadoe has gone, but in place of it we have a parkway for the construction and maintenance of which taxes are now imposed.

In 1639 Stephen Daye set up in Cambridge the first printing press in America north of Mexico, and the General Court enacted a law that no printing should be done in the colonies except in Cambridge. Mr. H. O. Houghton, the founder of the Riverside Press, used to say that the Daye Press died from lack of competition and that it was not until this legislative ban was removed that the art of printing began to make progress in the colonies. The evil custom then begun of legislating for the benefit of individuals or corporations still exists.

We read that in 1645 "every family in each of the colonies gave to the college at Cambridge 12 pence, or a peck of corn, or its value in unadulterated wampumpeag;" and that the college

in return exerted a powerful influence in forming the early character of the country. Our community is still contributing to the cause of education, and a committee of our Good Government League is trying to find out whether our contributions still tend to form character.

Mr. Fiske says: "We find that in 1652 the townsmen do grant liberty to Andrew Belcher to sell bread and beer for entertainment of strangers and the good of the town." This same Belcher family continues to sell bread in Cambridge, but whether it may sell beer is a question in reply to which the voters now say yes or no each year.

In 1655 President Dunster of Harvard was censured by the magistrates and dismissed from office for what was styled his damnable heresy that infant baptism was unscriptural. "The magistrates" no longer have control over a Harvard president, but only a few years ago a president of a nearby university was led to move further west on account of his views on the silver question.

In March, 1846, Cambridge became a city, but she did not adopt then and has not yet adopted the scientific business-like and economical methods of work which characterize the private business of her own citizens, and which have been long in vogue in the cities of Great Britain and Continental Europe. Cambridge has probably suffered less, however, from remissness in these directions than has any other American city, and we who live in Cambridge believe that on the whole she has done more for her people than has any other American city, and that Cambridge is the best city in the world to live in, to rear a family in, and to die in.

The salvation of our city has been the fact that she has always had among her citizens an unusually large number of able, public-spirited men, of knowledge, common sense, and experience, who, whenever occasion has demanded it, have given generously of their time, strength, and money. That they have not been better represented in our city council is the fault of our municipal system; that they have initiated improvements which our city

has been glad to adopt, and that they have served long and faithfully on committees and commissions which are not subject to the fickle changes of annual elections is well known. Let me cite a few illustrations.

On a list of those who have served as members of our School Committee may be found Alexander Agassiz; Professor Francis Bowen; W. S. Chaplin, now Chancellor of Washington and Lee University; Professor F. J. Child; Professor Ephraim Emerton; President C. C. Felton; Professor W. W. Goodwin; Professor A. B. Hart; Colonel T. W. Higginson; Miss A. M. Longfellow; Rev. Alexander McKenzie; Professor Charles Eliot Norton; Dr. A. P. Peabody; Horace E. Scudder; Professor F. W. Taussig; and Dr. Morrill Wyman. With these persons and others illustrious as scholars and teachers have served also some of the ablest business men of our city.

For twenty-five consecutive years the late Chester W. Kingsley, one of our ablest and most esteemed citizens, served on our Water Board, of which he was the chairman for fourteen years. For thirty-seven consecutive years Mr. George S. Saunders served faithfully and well as a Cemetery Commissioner. His brother, Charles H. Saunders, served twenty-five years as a Commissioner of our Sinking Fund. Mr. George H. Cox has served continuously on our Park Commission since its formation eleven years ago, and has just accepted a reappointment for three years. These are only a few of the many instances that might be quoted of long, able and faithful public service.

The following are some of the progressive movements for the public good that were initiated, and maintained in their beginnings, by public-spirited citizens:

In 1648 and 1669 the first two schoolhouses in Cambridge were built and conducted at private expense.

Fruits of Public Spirit.

In 1888 our Manual Training School was founded by our fellow-citizen, F. H. Rindge, who also paid all its running expenses up to 1900, when it was taken over by our city.

For eleven years before they came under the care of our

School Committee, free kindergartens were maintained by Mrs. Quincy Shaw and other Cambridge women.

Vacation schools were conducted by private subscription before the city was ready to assume the burden of maintaining them.

The Cambridge Public Library was also started through private munificence.

We are sometimes told that Cambridge is ruled by its aristocrats; if this be so, then the aristocrats of Cambridge are the public-spirited men and women whose names will be found on the subscription lists and lists of workers of those movements which I have referred to, and of other similar movements that are still maintained by private support. The following are some of the private organizations supported by our citizens for the public good:

The Associated Charities, organized in 1881. In addition to its regular work it has exterminated the tramp nuisance; it has done away with the chattel-mortgage evil which was making nearly five hundred of our poor families pay from 50 to 120 per cent a year on small loans; it has established nine stamp-savings stations for children, which show a record of over seven thousand depositors; and it has aided in almost every other charitable work done in the city.

The Prospect Union and the Social Union. These organizations have supplied numerous courses of instruction, principally by Harvard students, at nominal rates to hundreds of working people each year.

The East End Christian Union, with library, gymnasium, bathrooms, workshops, etc.

The Avon Home for Destitute Children.

The Cambridge Hospital, at an annual expense of over \$20,000.

The Holy Ghost Hospital, recently aided by the united efforts of many of the Protestant women of Cambridge.

Perhaps the best illustration of co-operative work is the No-license movement, which has resulted in a No vote for eighteen years in succession.

Good work was done in the winter of 1902-3 throughout the

scarcity-of-coal period by the Citizens' Fuel Committee. It at once restored confidence to frightened citizens, and while it urged them to look out for themselves so far as possible and did not become a relief committee, it was able to deliver coal promptly in small quantities to every applicant. Among the workers on this committee were John H. Corcoran, J. H. H. McNamee (then mayor), A. M. Howe, President C. W. Eliot, and Bishop William Lawrence.

Although the adoption of a city charter in 1846 produced the usual result, namely, the introduction of national politics into municipal affairs, we find that as early as 1854 there was a meeting of citizens who believed that party politics should not be a test of qualification for municipal offices. It was not until 1866, however, that *all* municipal nominations began to be made on a non-partisan basis; and this state of affairs continued until the fall campaign of 1901.

Of the origin of the Library Hall Association we glean the following information from a report of Mr. George G. Wright: In 1889, after the nomination by caucuses of many unfit candidates for office, there was a meeting in the rooms formerly occupied by the Public Library of those opposed to such candidates. A new list of candidates endorsed at this meeting was presented to the voters under the title of "The Library Hall Candidates." After a hard contest the objectionable candidates were defeated, and all but four of the forty-three Library Hall candidates were elected. This meeting led to the formation of the Library Hall Association.

The objects of the Association are shown by the following extract from its by-laws:

"The purposes of this Association shall be to secure the nomination and election of proper candidates for municipal offices; to procure the punishment of all persons who may be guilty of election frauds, maladministration of office, or misappropriation of public funds; to advocate and promote a public service based upon character and capability only; and to promote intelligent discussion of municipal affairs by the publication and distribution of reliable information in relation thereto."

During the first eleven years of its life over 88 per cent of its endorsements were ratified at the polls. Candidates for office who were members received no more consideration than those who were not, and in many cases the Association endorsed candidates who were not members in preference to those who were. Its action in one case resulted in the election of a candidate for mayor who was not a member, and the defeat of another who had been a member of its own executive committee the same year.

For several years Library Hall prepared and published a record of the acts of each member of the City Council, including attendance at meetings. It nipped in the bud the beginnings of corruption by calling public attention to the excessive number of car tickets used at the city's expense by some of the members of the City Council, and the use by members of the labor patronage of public-service corporations.

Members of the executive committee attended the meetings of the City Council and made reports on what they saw and heard.

The Library Hall Association became at length so large that its method of endorsing candidates was thought unsatisfactory. It was claimed that it was impossible at a single meeting of three hundred or more members to discuss the merits and demerits of candidates thoroughly enough to ensure a vote for the best men. It therefore decided to change its method of work and to entrust the management of its business to a committee, and to change its name to the Good Government League of Cambridge. This decision was hastened by the appearance in the fall of 1901 of the Democratic party in city affairs, and in 1902 of a regular Non-Partisan party in opposition to it. In the fall elections of 1901 and 1902 the Democrats were successful, and were therefore in power in 1902 and in 1903; in the fall of 1903 the Non-Partisans won and are now in power.

While the partisan party in Cambridge calls itself the Democratic party, it might more properly be called the Opposition party. It was formed to oppose those whom it regarded as in control at City Hall and to secure control for itself. That its politics were local rather than national would appear from the fact that its leader at first advised against choosing its present

name. Some Republicans were induced to join its ranks and many Democrats refrained from doing so. The present non-partisan mayor is a Democrat; the first leader of the Non-Partisan Party was a Democrat; and a large minority of the executive committee of Library Hall which failed to endorse any of the so-called Democratic candidates for office in 1901 were Democrats. That partisanship is not believed in by all its members is shown by the fact that one of its ablest supporters recently said in a public speech that non-partisanship in its true sense is an ideal form of government. His reason for becoming a partisan being his belief that the present non-partisan administration is not representative of true non-partisan ideals.

The contest between the Democratic and Non-Partisan parties is a bitter struggle for power. This struggle consumes annually months of time and thousands of dollars. From the nature of the case there is little time or strength left for the perfection of a system by the aid of which the business of the city may be best performed. Even the public-spirited citizens who have accomplished the good results I have spoken of have not yet waked up to the necessity of constructing proper municipal machinery.

We are told by some of our good citizens that the American idea regards municipal offices as honors to be given first to one good man and then to another, and demands a city government in which three men must be hired to do the work of two. De Tocqueville is quoted in support of this idea, although his observations were made in 1831, when there were only twenty-six cities in the entire United States and the urban population was less than seven in a hundred, whereas in 1900 there were 517 cities and the urban population was over 32 in 100. Supposing De Tocqueville to have been right in his conclusions, should we be so non-progressive in municipal affairs as to be willing to be governed to-day by an 1830 idea, when Cambridge, for example, had a population of 6,072 against nearly 100,000 now, when her streets were unlighted and thorough sewerage was unknown; when there were only three policemen; and when the

tax rate was \$2.26 on a total valuation less than the present annual outgo? We are told that it is nonsense to compare a city government which has to do with moral and social as well as financial needs with a money-making business corporation. These two ideas—the one that in city work two-thirds of a man must count as a whole man, and the other that work for an individual is business, while work for a community of individuals is not business—form the capital stock of the demoralized and demoralizing, place-hunting, graft-seeking elements of our population.

Let us rather regard the American idea of to-day as that progressive idea which has achieved success in innumerable private undertakings and which can and should be applied to municipal affairs.

This progressive idea, however, has not yet found its way into our city charter. Our charter says that "All officers of the city not elected by the qualified voters shall be
City Charter. resident citizens of the city of Cambridge."

What private institution or private business of Cambridge would ever hamper itself by such an un-American suicidal requirement as this? In 1864 one of our citizens went abroad and brought back with him the best workmen he could find, and largely by their aid built up a business which to-day pays heavy taxes to the city and supports hundreds of our most respectable citizens. President Eliot has drawn his professors from all parts of the world; had he not been allowed to do this would he have increased the number of Harvard's students from 1,059 to 4,328 in the thirty-five years that he has been president?

In the same section with this demoralizing requirement power is given to the mayor, subject to the confirmation of the aldermen, elected at the same time with himself, to make appointments to salaried offices without any provision being made for ascertaining their fitness for the work which they are to perform. In regard to a mayor's appointments being "subject to confirmation by the board of aldermen," Dr. Albert Shaw says: "The council's power of rejecting appointees nominated by the mayor very considerably diminishes his responsibility for the proper exercise of the appointing power." "The relation between the

two cannot at best be other than that of a shifting, unprofitable and illogical compromise." One of the best mayors we ever had once said to me: "I would have removed Mr. A., who was incompetent, if I could have gotten the aldermen to sustain me." This means that the party will of an unpartisan board of aldermen was a block to efficient service.

All of these charter provisions make for partisanship: First, a mayor cannot appoint the best man if he lives outside the city limits; second, he is not required to apply any test of fitness; and third, he must appoint only those who can get the votes of aldermen who naturally and honestly perhaps feel that they represent *constituencies*.

Our charter also requires that the mayor and City Council shall be elected annually. They are elected in December; they are inducted into office in January, and a month later, without experience except in the case of re-elections and usually without knowledge of such matters, they pass on a city budget which calls for the expenditure of over \$3,000,000 of the taxpayers' money. Is it an American business principle for a corporation to entrust matters of such importance to a set of workers of one month's standing? We are told that it takes a mayor or member of the City Council five months to learn even the routine of his office, and that if he is to retain his position he must devote four months to the work of securing his re-election. This leaves him the three vacation months, often partly spent by him away from home, in which to attend comparatively unhampered to the requirements of his oath of office.

Our city charter also calls for a two-chambered City Council, a requirement which only adds to the inefficiency already so well provided for.

Our city charter by its division of power among the three branches of the city government deprives each branch of a proper sense of responsibility and puts stumbling-blocks in the way of progress. Last year vacancies in the Overseers of the Poor were not filled for months because the Board of Aldermen and the Common Council could not decide whether to act conjointly or concurrently. This month a two-thirds vote of the Common Council for a much-needed water loan could not be

obtained because some of the Councilmen, though favoring the loan, would not vote for it without a guarantee that only Cambridge citizens should be employed by the Water Board. This obstruction has already cost the city thousands of dollars through a rise in the cost of material, and has made more imminent a feared water famine. Should the required guarantee be given,

the added cost for labor alone would amount to
Need of \$150,000, or from 30 to 40 per cent. This illus-
Reform. trates the evils of a division of power and the
 ability of a misguided minority of a useless third
 branch of our city government, regardless of their oaths of office, to sacrifice the needs of all our citizens to the chance of getting positions for a few of them, which sound business policy might require the Water Board to give to others.

Can it be a matter of surprise that under our present charter many of our best and most experienced men, who are willing to put their shoulders to the wheel and to sink their hands deep down into their pockets in behalf of a specific municipal improvement, are unwilling to become candidates for the Common Council or Board of Aldermen? Instead of securing, as we should in a community like ours, men the market value of whose business ability and experience is high—as high, for example, as that of solicitors of municipal concessions with whom they carry on an unequal contest—we get men whose average market value is low. While excellent young men sometimes become members they almost always retire as soon as they have acquired ability and experience enough to warrant private citizens in entrusting them with matters of importance. We want such men, but we want them after they have gained some experience in affairs rather than before.

We are told that partisanship is the source of all that is bad in municipal affairs, but the root of our municipal evils lies deeper than partisanship; it lies in our unsound, unbusinesslike, demoralizing municipal system which produces and fosters partisanship even in a party which honestly tries to be non-partisan.

If neither of the existing municipal parties can be induced to take up the question of reform in our system, then let us have a third party with a platform which will challenge the common sense, intelligence and public spirit of our people.

Our present system, however, instead of being a source of despondency, is a source of hope, for it is so unsound, so unbusinesslike, so unscientific, so sure to produce unbearable inefficiency and high taxes that the public spirit of Cambridge, the Cambridge idea, as it is sometimes called, will surely come to the rescue. The business principles in vogue in our private affairs and in the municipal affairs of foreign cities can and will be introduced into the management of the affairs of American cities. Dr. Shaw tells us in regard to filling offices in Great Britain: "It is usual to advertise for a vacancy. . . . If a chief of police is wanted for a town even of a moderate size there are likely to be applicants by the score or hundred from all parts of the United Kingdom." A reference to the experience of France and Germany would only confirm the thought that it is not at all impossible to establish a system of appointment by which merit shall be the only "pull." Such a system neither cheats the public nor degrades the wage-earner.

While the objects of the Good Government League are the same as those of its predecessor, the Library Hall Association, it has devoted itself principally during the past year to the promotion of a study and discussion of questions relating to the improvement of our municipal system. Its first recommendation favored the extension of the merit system to the appointment of heads of departments. In behalf of this recommendation, Mr. R. H. Dana, a member of the executive committee of the League, prepared a paper which the League has published as one of its bulletins. This paper was read and discussed at the last annual meeting of the National Civil Service Reform League, and the subject has been discussed in Cambridge whenever an opportunity has presented itself. It is hoped that the legislation necessary to bring about this reform will be secured from our next State Legislature.

A line of work which has for its aim the better preparation for citizenship by our public schools is being carried on by a committee of the League, of which President C. W. Eliot is a member. Every public school in Cambridge has been visited by some member of this committee; these visits of inquiry have, it

is believed, already led to an increased interest in the subject on the part of teachers and pupils, and the interest of the librarian of the Public Library has been secured in the direction of obtaining and bringing to the attention of teachers and pupils the best books on the subject. When the report of the committee is presented it will surely contain helpful suggestions.

The work referred to above was under way at the time of the annual meeting of the League, in Sanders Theatre, on February 7, 1904. At this meeting addresses were made by President Eliot, Mayor Daly, Edmund Reardon and R. H. Dana, of Cambridge, and R. Fulton Cutting, of New York, and the annual report of the League was presented, in which the following suggestions for future work are to be found:

1. The continuation of the work already begun in regard to the extension of the merit system and to securing a better preparation for citizenship by our public schools.
2. An early study and discussion of the question of lengthening the terms of office of the mayor and members of the City Council.
3. A study of the advisability of a single-chambered City Council.
4. A careful study of the relationship between the city and the public-service corporations which use its streets, whether the use of our streets for private gain should not be paid for at the same rates that the city would have to pay for a similar use of private property; and whether the city should ever grant irrevocable rights to the use of its property.
5. A study of our city charter with a view to finding out what changes should be made in it, that the management of our city affairs may become more economical, more businesslike and more efficient.

Most of these suggestions have already been taken up.

Mr. Louis D. Brandeis, of Boston, recently delivered to members of the League and others a most helpful address on "The Legal Rights of Public-Service Corporations in our Streets," which will be published shortly as one of the League's bulletins, and a meeting has been held at which the question of lengthening the terms of service of the mayor and aldermen was discussed.

Among other lines of work may be mentioned a public protest from the executive committee against the hold-up of the water loan to which I have referred, and the publication of impartial information about candidates for office just previous to the last city election.

More stress has been laid upon measures than upon men, because an improvement in our system is a permanent change for the better and tends to produce good men, while a contest over men alone has to be fought over again every year.

I feel that in closing I should quote the following passage from the by-laws of the Good Government League:

"All publications and recommendations shall be over the signatures of the members of the committee issuing such information or making such recommendations."

It will be seen therefore that since this paper bears only my own signature, neither the League nor its executive committee is in any way responsible for any of the heresies to be found in it.

New Orleans under a Partisan Administration

By J. PEMBERTON BALDWIN, New Orleans
Civil Service Commissioner

Some years ago a little pamphlet was put out on the streets under the title, "What Congress Has Done," and the person who, curious to be informed, opened the cover, found therein but a few blank leaves. Congress, it seems, had done nothing. Were stress to be laid on the adjective "partisan" in this title, the result achieved by any municipal administration would be subject doubtless to equal sarcasm.

The city of New Orleans, however, has accomplished something, has progressed in the improvement of its municipal government, and is destined, if signs be true, to move up still higher in the ranks of those communities who are striving to better their political position. And while it may not achieve

Progress. perfect government as fast as it progresses commercially, there is now foundation for the hope that it will eventually attain a degree of excellence which could hardly have been expected under the conditions that prevailed in the past. It will be necessary to state briefly these conditions in order properly to understand what the city has passed through, and on what are based the hope and expectation of future improvement. The isolation of the Southern metropolis, and its peculiarly assorted population, make such data of value in working out a theorem for application for municipal politics in America.

All Southern cities begin their history since the war. That short period from the end of the Civil War to the year 1868 was one of partial adjustment, rudely disturbed by the complete upheaval following the reconstruction enactments.

From 1868 to 1877 has been called the period of the second war in the South, and socially and politically its effects were as

important as those of the Civil War itself. A proud and chivalrous people overthrown in a mighty conflict, were confronted with conditions intensely humiliating to their pride, and subversive of the social order and social relations to which they had been accustomed. Though the last gun may have been fired at Appomattox, and the struggle with a gallant and victorious enemy in the open ended with that battle, a harder and more lasting struggle with the hordes that followed in the wake of the invader began. "To the victors belong the spoils" is a cry that has carried a curse, whether coming from the throats of the barbarians sacking Rome, or triumphantly shouted as the slogan of a successful political party in America. What efforts were made to plunder city and state are not matters of local history, but the history of the South. In the city of New Orleans there was no such looting done as in the State Treasury, but there was constant graft, political immorality, disorder and corruption. Such revenues as were collected were immediately dissipated in one scheme or another. With a knowledge of these attacks on the fisc, it had become almost a duty on the part of the patriotic citizen to resist or evade the payment of taxes which would but go to enrich the plunderers. So earnest were some citizens in carrying out this duty that it became difficult for them later to give up the habit of evasion, even when they were assured that the reason for this evasion had ceased to exist.

The cry of 1877, "Pay your taxes to the one-armed man" (Governor Nichols having lost an arm in the war), became not only a campaign cry, but it was a reminder of a long-dormant duty.

If to some, Reconstruction is a word of hated import, and to others merely a disagreeable subject worn threadbare, there should be now a third and larger class, who can **Reconstruction.** discuss reconstruction days calmly and philosophically, and give proper weight to that time and the evils that sprang from that time, in estimating its lasting influence on municipal politics.

In addition to the turmoil and disorganization in municipal administration brought about by the evils of the "carpet bag" days, there was another disturbing element. This was an insti-

tution that played an important part in state and municipal affairs, the Louisiana State Lottery.

Incorporated in 1868 for twenty-five years, to protect the State against the loss of money sent abroad for lottery tickets, as its act of incorporation reads, and for educational and charitable purposes, the Louisiana State Lottery. The Louisiana State Lottery was not at first successful, but the inauguration of the daily drawing soon brought a large revenue and made it a fair target for hostile legislation.

When the political disorder is considered, and when it is borne in mind that the legislature was composed of men elected in some cases by the suffrages of the most ignorant portion of the community, it can readily be imagined that any attack on the lottery by some would-be reformer usually wound up in a cessation of the reformer's crusade, and speedily left him obscure, a silent but strong supporter of the scheme. It was cynically said by those who became reconciled to the lottery company's existence that gambling was gambling, wherever practiced, and whether practiced in stocks, grain or cotton. If New York could stand Wall Street speculation, without a shudder, and Chicago its seething grain-pits, with but an indulgent smile for the boys, then New Orleans could at least tolerate a game where the loss was limited to the initial cost of the ticket, no margins called from the unfortunate speculators, and no corner possible. How much wealth it brought to the city, or whether the direct gain was not more than offset by the loss in prestige that the presence of the lottery brought about, is a question that need not be inquired into, but that it distinctly lowered politics, municipal as well as state, there can be no doubt. No man could oppose the lottery and live politically, and it was an open secret that the head of the dominant political party, the boss, the old man, was its paid agent and representative, and distributed its money where it would do the most good. Nor was the opposition neglected; every prominent official in every office, state, federal or municipal, who could be reached, was reached, and the lottery seemed enthroned with every prospect of its charter being renewed. It does not fall within the province of this paper to discuss the manner in which, lording it over the community,

flaunting its political corruption openly, the lottery company went to its doom. In so far as the political progress of the city of New Orleans was concerned, it played a most important part, and the scars from the factional struggle that began over its proposed extension, and continued until its extinction, still remain. But it should be borne in mind that among those who fought, and successfully fought, the lottery were men without means of their own, and whose opposition converted into support would have given them untold wealth. That this temptation was resisted, that the struggle was carried through triumphantly, and that there were shown to be men in political life who could not be bought, was an indication of the dawn of a better period in the politics of the state and city.

It is conclusive that during the thirty years following the war the voters of the municipality had passed through the phases of reconstruction and lottery domination, and that to them political work meant financial reward in the shape of a direct money payment, or indirectly through political patronage. Ingrained in the very existence of the voter belonging to the rank and file of every party was the idea that one went into politics because there was something to be gained by so doing. Patronage was distributed to the victorious faction, for it was always the same party, practically, that succeeded at the polls. For, so strong was the remembrance of Reconstruction days, that any party opposed in national issues to the Republican party, which stood sponsor for Reconstruction legislation, became naturally the party of those opposed to Reconstruction methods. In this way the Democratic party and the Democratic name became vested with an adventitious popularity. The ward boss of the early days was quick to see the advantage of this popular name, and while proclaiming Democratic principles, as being those by which he was governed (without probably any definite idea in his own mind as to what were Democratic principles, as opposed to Republican principles in municipal politics) usually bought the negro vote through the colored pastors and leaders, to insure his own candidate's election. In case of any factional fight in the ward, the negro vote became at times an important

factor in deciding an issue between leaders who individually professed the purest Democratic principles, and who denounced the colored brother and his ignorance and incapacity for the suffrage with equal vehemence.

In 1896, after the elimination of the lottery, a movement was begun, ostensibly as an offshoot of the Democratic party, and under the name of the Citizens' League, was supported by the independent vote, and incidentally by the voters of the other party. This movement resulted in the election of a legislature composed, so far as the municipality was concerned, of representatives who were elected without party pledge or party ties. This legislature amended the charter of the city of New Orleans, and incorporated in it the first Civil Service Act of the State of Louisiana. This was the first attempt in this State to separate patronage from politics, and marked a distinct epoch. After four years' trial the experiment was so satisfactory that, though the next legislature in 1900 was strictly a party one, and an attempt was made to repeal the Civil Service Act, the opponents of civil service succeeded only in amending it, though their amendments were radical and aimed at the essence of the act.

In several particulars the present statute is unique. The tenure continues only to the end of the term of the appointing officers, and at the end of every four years a clean sweep is made of all appointees. The new administration has a new examination, and every candidate who attains over 70 per cent is classed as eligible, and the appointing officer may select any eligible. The Civil Service Board is composed of the mayor, city treasurer, city comptroller and two citizens, who serve without remuneration. After testing this Act, experience seems to show, and this is given as an individual opinion, that the tenure-of-office clause should be changed, and tenure made permanent during good behavior. The personnel of the Board should also be composed entirely of citizens who are not office-holders. For while the present incumbents have been invaluable, and are gentlemen of the highest character, it is better that the Board should be absolutely free from politics. The clause requiring every applicant to show that

he has voted at the next preceding election, which stimulates every citizen to do his duty at the polls, is apparently a good one. The clause giving every eligible equal rank also seems to work out satisfactorily. Civil service examinations are tentatively selective at best, and no examination can properly show the efficiency of the candidate so well as the practical work he performs after induction into office.

This prologue was necessary to show what New Orleans has passed through before it can be explained what she has achieved in the way of municipal reform in the past, and why she has not gone further. The enthusiastic civil service reformer may conclude that New Orleans has indeed made little progress, if civil service employees are appointed for four years only, and some exacting ones have termed the present act a farce. Yet a careful inspection of conditions in the executive branches of the Government shows that good results have been attained, and that as excellent a set of men have been tendered to the respective departments as were tendered under the previous administration. The main difficulty with the municipality is—and it seems to obtain in other municipalities—that when the head of the department is inefficient and lacks the proper qualities as an executive, the subordinates are inefficient, neglectful and undisciplined. Wherever the head of the department fails in his duty to enforce the proper character of work from his subordinates, the whole of the office force will show a distinctly lower tone of efficiency.

What New Orleans can base its hopes upon is the fact that the civil service statute is recognized now as an institution, not merely an experiment, and that municipal improvement is not spasmodic, but promises to be steady and more productive of good results from year to year. No scandals have developed in the past two administrations such as would make a subject sufficiently sensational for a magazine article, and the past eight years have shown a decided advance in the interest taken in politics by what is called the better element.

In this connection it is instructive to note a development among certain members of the better element (to use an awkward term) who went into politics, and took a prominent part in the

reform movement of 1896. These gentlemen went into politics in opposition to the regular ward leaders and were successful, but found before the term of that administration had expired that it was necessary in order to carry the next election to make some coalition with the ward leaders. The question in the present case was whether it were wiser to risk defeat or to give the ward leader recognition, in return for which he would join the better element in naming a high class of candidates for submission to the people on the regular party ticket.

The question will be at once asked, What does the ward leader exact for his support? and the answer must be that the

ward leader expects patronage to be given to him
The Ward or such portion as may be allotted to him. Un-
Leader. fortunately, there can be no civil service law

which reaches the legislative branch of any government, and it is the legislative branch in which the greatest number of flaws and the most serious weaknesses develop. The executive department of a government is usually of a higher standard of efficiency than the legislative, and under civil service regulations properly carried out, the executive department becomes qualified in every respect. When therefore that portion of the community esteeming themselves of the better element attempt to affiliate with the ward leaders they are confronted with the question of giving up to him the legislative patronage, or that of a certain number of minor offices. Reform within the party therefore becomes a difficult proposition unless a sufficient number of disinterested citizens are willing to spend the time and money necessary to make them controlling or influential factors in regular party organization.

In order to obtain control of the votes of the masses, or at least to influence a majority of them, it would seem necessary to take into account the personal popularity of the leaders. And herein should be noted a fact which is not always kept in view: the leader does not maintain his position solely by the patronage he dispenses; it is rare to find a ward leader who can supply offices or positions for more than a very small percentage of his followers. Among the adherents of the ward leader only a small percentage really get political reward, direct or indirect, in the shape of employment in the municipality. The number of offices

is always much smaller than the number of applicants, even though the applicants be a small percentage of the total number of the ward leader's followers.

Herein lies one of the dangers to the ward leader's survival. It requires all his skill to satisfy all his adherents by other means than patronage to keep them loyal. These means imply the expenditure by him of money to assist his constituents when they are behind in their rent, or when there is sickness or death in their families, or in any of the thousand and one ways in which the improvident classes find necessity for money.

The personal influence of the ward leader is called upon also when any of his constituents comes in conflict with the law,

and not the least of his work is done in going
Personal bail for some petty offender, or getting his friend
Influence. the Recorder to be lenient with some delinquent.

The result is that the successful ward boss builds up for himself a personal adherence on the part of his followers, whose devotion to him represents their civic ideals. Whatever man he names, they are very apt to support, particularly if the candidate possess merely a neutral personality. In this case usually a large vote is brought out and a handsome majority results for such a candidate.

Granted that the masses have little political morality and that their adherence is a personal one to the ward leader, regardless even of patronage, a condition of serious import prevails at once. When, therefore, this condition develops, and the ward leader is disposed to lend his strength and the power he has taken years to acquire to elect such men for municipal positions that are to be filled, as the better element suggest, then it would appear a reasonable occasion for an attempt to bring about reform within the party.

Theoretically, it would be preferable to sweep the whole system of one-man power away, and let every ward select by some system of primaries, the most available
The Ideal and the most desirable candidate. An ideal con-
Condition. dition would be one where two parties, each striving to conduct municipal affairs on a proper businesslike basis, and separated only by different ideas of the

methods to be employed in carrying out their respective plans for municipal improvement would each select the best men of their party for the suffrages of the whole people. An ideal condition even in the view of a partisan leader would be one where his own party would be forced into line by some organized opposition party, and after a lively campaign, the installation of his own party without the opposition capturing a single office. Politics, however, is essentially a science where the ideal has little chance of success, and the reason appears to be the fact, which must be stated with regret, but nevertheless remains a fact, that the class of voters who come dangerously near constituting a majority in every election is almost universally of mediocre political education. The personal adherence of such voters to the ward leader takes the place of party allegiance and party principle. A gradual education of these voters, the inculcation among them of ideas of personal independence, and the high privilege of the ballot, free intermixture with them on the part of citizens of wider experience will go further toward raising the political standard than any sudden reform movement.

Even reform movements are largely dependent for their success on the disgruntled and disaffected among the factions that split up a regular party. The elimination of patronage as a reward for political service should go hand in hand with the education of the mass of the voters; and, lastly, to revert to the title of this paper, partisan government should be kept in check by a virile active opposition, and any failure to fulfill the expectations of the community should be at once visited upon the heads of the delinquent political faction by sweeping it out of office at the next election. This, together with the efforts of disinterested citizens contributing their share towards political improvement, and their time towards an active participation in their ward politics, will do more to bring about good results than constant fulmination against the party leaders.

The press generally holds the balance of power in all elections and a united press almost always is irresistible. Unfortunately there are rivalries and animosities among journalists as there are among common mortals, and the average citizen has a wholesome fear of appearing as a candidate when some zealous par-

tisan—or non-partisan—journal may attack his platform, his principles, and finally leave but a shred of his character.

The hope of New Orleans lies in the middle commercial and higher working classes, and it is in this respect that the city is strongest. Large corporations do not stand for political purity, but are rather apt to have a graft of their own, as Mr. Steffens points out.

The proletariat is not yet leavened with aspirations for individual political independence, and it remains for the intelligent, conservative and progressive men of moderate means to constitute the bulwark of the city's strength, and steadily to urge her progress, politically as they have done commercially. Not hastily or speedily is this done, but just as they have painstakingly and solidly built in the past, so they can build in the future.

What New Orleans has demonstrated is that in that city, under a partisan administration, the individuals composing the administration are competent or incompetent not by reason of or because they have been elected on a partisan ticket, but because of their inherent good or poor capacity. The system does not change the individual. An organized political party is just as able to furnish competent officials as is the floating unorganized element, and it will furnish such candidates if there is a sufficient number of citizens who take an interest in ward politics to exact it. The mayor chosen on the last partisan ticket was a gentleman of the very highest standing, and no incumbent has ever filled the office with more courtliness and integrity.

The fisc has never been better administered, and the budgets prepared by this partisan administration are more businesslike, more carefully drawn than any in recent years, and have always come well within the revenues.

Certain departments are below grade, others fully up to any standard. The remedy for shortcomings that have developed is not to be sought by including the whole administration in one sweeping denunciation, but rather by locating the individual cause of the trouble, vigorously attacking it and correcting it, as soon as the opportunity comes around.

New Orleans will be partisan for some years to come, in the sense that the name of one national party will be the only one under the auspices of which there is chance of political success. Factions there may be, or independent movements started for the purpose of raising the standard of municipal administration—or perhaps to gratify personal ambition impossible of accomplishment through the regular party—yet these movements will be democratic by or through some association, and reform of the party will differ but slightly from reform within the party.

In conclusion it is proper to say that an article on the topic selected for this paper would be more spicy, more denunciatory, were it to revile the city government, pick out its flaws, magnify them and dwell upon them only; but where the shortcomings are not irremediable, where the faults are such as may be cured by quiet, earnest effort on the part of the ordinary citizen, doing his political duty, sensationalism would be the grossest injustice.

Already a deep interest is being taken in the coming fall elections. It rests with the individual citizen to take part in every ward movement and every ward discussion. For the adage holds good now, as it did thousands of years ago: "Every community, state or nation, gets always as good government as it deserves,"

The St. Louis School Board: an Instance of Successful Home Rule

By Hon. CHARLES NAGEL, St. Louis

The implied assertion that our city is the happy possessor of any institution which may serve as an instance of successful home rule must be received by the majority of my listeners with more or less surprise. Even those who are not altogether unfamiliar with the facts that have suggested this particular subject may at first have been impressed more with the boldness than with the happiness of the selection.

It is certainly true that St. Louis has for some time past enjoyed a political reputation which is not obscured by its negative qualities. "Shameless" St. Louis has become a common characterization, while the individual citizen away from home has become reconciled to the playful inquiry whether he is in search of a technicality to escape extradition papers.

Of our reputation it may be truly said that it would be difficult to point to an accusation that has not been made, and that having been made has not been believed. By way of illustration I may cite the very announcement in our program which appears in the form of a note to my subject. This, no doubt, characterizes our general reputation, but in its details it is hardly correct. It is probably true that there was no time within recent years when a large proportion of the lower house of our Assembly did not make the customary contribution to the political reputation which now constitutes our chief burden. But, however opinions may differ about the Council during the last few years, the charge of corruption has not been made. And so far as the term from 1893 to 1897 is concerned, it will

be admitted that this period of the municipal government has furnished little or no occasion for the notoriety from which we now suffer. It is only fair, therefore, to say that the inquiries which have resulted in such astounding revelations were directed almost solely to the period between 1897 and 1901.

But whatever the period or the cause, and however degrading the proof that has been brought to light, it will be difficult, and I think impossible, to show that, relatively speaking, we deserve the name that has been given us. In depth and boldness of conception, and in magnitude and precision of performance, in political crimes, our municipality is still a very dwarf by the side of its older and greater competitors. Inexperience, dullness and vulgarity were the unfailing features of every crime that has been divulged; and these characteristics were as true of the briber as of the bribe-taker.

It is certainly no purpose of mine to deny the existence of extended corruption in our Assemblies; and certainly not to deny the community's responsibility for such a condition. But at the same time it seems right on this occasion to say that the entire body politic is not therefore infected; and that, when the worst has been admitted, we have still, relatively speaking, been made to suffer from gross exaggeration.

There are causes for complaint in our city, bearing upon the integrity of elections, which I admit the general public was slow to recognize and to grapple with. For toleration of these conditions we have received little or no criticism. On the other hand, unmeasured criticism has been visited upon us with respect to other offenses, to the condemnation and prosecution of which the entire community promptly responded. Undivided and universal was the determination to visit well-merited penalty upon the offenders. There was not a newspaper published in the city that did not vigorously join in the crusade. Any attempt on the part of a publication, for political or equally indefensible reasons, to withhold support of the prosecutions, would have imperiled its existence, so widespread and unanimous was the sentiment of the readers. During the first two years of the inquiry the Prosecutor and the Jury Commissioner were of opposite parties,

and yet not a single case went to a jury without resulting in a conviction. Grand juries, composed of citizens representing every variety of political opinion, have been untiring in their searching inquiries, and relentless in their condemnations. When the intense excitement has subsided, thoughtful men may well make the inquiry whether the state of public indignation did not reach such a pitch that the common guaranties for a fair and impartial hearing, whatever the charge, became impaired. No public official could receive more unqualified support from every source than was accorded to the State's Attorney in these prosecutions. Deplorable as the conditions in our city undoubtedly are, they seem to have invited disproportionate notoriety. Foreign criticism seems to have been measured by the earnestness of our own indignation, rather than by the degree or the extent of our offense.

However, be the right and wrong of this as it may, no one will deny that we have been made to bear our full share of disgrace; and, upon closer inquiry, it may be found that we, as others, have been engaged in the common struggle for municipal integrity, with the customary experiences of temporary success and disgraceful defeat.

Unexpectedly, in the midst of our confusion, when no voice from our midst could have found a hearing, there came the simple but effective statement from President Eliot, of Harvard, that he believes the St. Louis School Board to be the best Board of Education in the United States. Here, then, is a distinct branch of government, charged with the care of the highest interests, old enough to antedate, and strong enough to resist, the political crimes that have been heralded abroad, which receives this marked approval from such a source. While we were engaged in a fierce political controversy about the right and the wisdom of local self-government in matters of police and election regulations, we are referred by the president of Harvard to a demonstration of what we can do if we will. It may be a question whether the country at large, or we, were most surprised at this announcement; but it is safe to say that we were the first to find in it abundant cause for reflection. We had not only

suffered our shortcomings in the city government to monopolize public attention, but we had failed to appreciate that the success of our public schools may point out the way for similar successes elsewhere.

The story of the origin, growth and success of the School Board is in itself a comparatively brief and simple one, although the reputation of the Board has now properly enough made it the object of general inquiry.

It must be admitted that from the first the work was attended by a happy combination of fortune and wisdom. Up to the early part of 1897 our schools had been governed by a Board which was selected upon the then prevalent theory of ward representation. It would be an injustice to say that under this rule our School Boards were always bad. Quite the contrary is true. Within the last twenty-five years many of our best citizens have served in that body, and for long periods of time the character and the ability of the Boards was of a distinctly high order. Such results were probably secured, not because of the form of law, but in spite of it; and may serve as a new illustration of the old observation that good government depends less upon the letter of the law than upon the spirit of the man.

But as the city grew in size, as interests increased in variety and importance, as social distinctions became more marked, the School Board fell under influences that have undermined so many other public interests in large communities. The property and funds of the School Board became the objects of private graft, and even the positions of teachers were brought within the spoilsman's control. Old schoolhouses were neglected, new ones were not built; the efficiency of teachers deteriorated; and a system which, under the guidance and control of William T. Harris, had secured us recognition as an educational center, now disappointed us at home, and threatened to discredit us abroad.

Conditions were too plainly deplorable to escape detection. They were ripe for a change. This change was made, but not in the accepted way. Without agitation or declamation, merely assuming the truth that was manifest, a few men of position

and experience prepared a new law to govern the school interests of St. Louis. From its inception the movement was non-partisan. This was true by common consent of the framers of the law, and of the men of political position whose assistance was invited. Without difficulty the recommendation of leaders of all parties was secured; and the State legislature being in session, the law was enacted.

The provisions of that law are simple; but the fundamental principles, while few in number, constitute a radical departure from the views accepted up to that time. The rule of ward representation is abandoned, as having no proper application to a system which, in the nature of things, cannot have peculiar local interests to understand or to serve. The Board consists of twelve members, and these are elected at large. Every two years four members are elected, so that it is never within the power of a combination, whether of political forces or otherwise, to secure control in any one election. The absence of easy opportunity in itself thus materially decreases the danger of temptation.

An ex-president of the Board, Mr. E. C. Eliot, in a published article, describes the main features and workings of the law as follows:

"The new school law for St. Louis was taken, in its scheme or main features, from the draft of an act prepared for the city of New York by the commission appointed by the mayor in 1892.

"The business of the schools is divided among four departments, over each of which is an officer appointed by the Board.

These officers are known as 'Superintendent of Instruction,' 'Commissioner of School Buildings,' 'Secretary and Treasurer,' and 'Auditor.'

The law defines the qualifications, which are such as specially fit the officers for their respective duties. The terms of office are fixed, and they can be removed by the Board only upon a two-thirds vote and for cause. Immediately upon their appointment they become to a great extent independent of the Board and directly responsible to the public. The Board can make rules which prescribe to some degree the conduct of the officers, but these rules would be void if they conflicted with or

limited the powers directly intrusted to the heads of the departments. It is the intent of the law that the officers should have both the power and the responsibility for the practical administration of the schools. Among The Superintendent these departments, that pertaining to the direct of Instruction. educational work is under control of the Superintendent of Instruction. All appointments, promotions and transfers of teachers and introduction and changes of text-books and apparatus are required to be made only upon his recommendation and the approval of the Board. He has the supervision, subject to the control of the Board, of the course of instruction, discipline and conduct of the books. The Board fixes the number and salaries of his clerks, but the power of appointment and removal rests solely with the Superintendent.

In respect of the appointment of teachers, the power under the law resting in the Superintendent, there is only that of confirmation or rejection in the Board. All nominations for such positions are made by the Superintendent of Instruction. With respect to all leading positions in the instruction corps and the principalships, the Superintendent makes his selections from such material as may be anywhere available, resorting to examinations, where such may be effective for the purpose. With respect to the main body of the teaching force, a qualified list of graduates of the normal school is drawn upon by the Superintendent, strictly in the order of time and merit. The discharge of teachers is largely governed by the system which requires the appointment of all the instruction force for the period of one year. The Superintendent has annually before him the entire corps for reappointment, and the practical effect of a discharge can be accomplished by the simple process of not reappointing. In this no impelling force is behind the Superintendent. If he declines to make an appointment, the matter must necessarily end with his action. The Board has no power to review it. Within the yearly term of service it lies within the province of the Superintendent to suspend, and of the Board to expel, a teacher. This is a power which, of necessity, is to be rarely used, and is reserved for the most serious cases of moral delinquency or inefficiency. A suggestion of its probable use results,

except in a few instances, in the voluntary resignation of the person affected.

The law provides that the Commissioner of School Buildings shall be charged with the care of public school buildings of such city, with the responsibility for the ventilation, warming, sanitary conditions, and proper repair thereof. He shall prepare, or cause to be prepared, all specifications and drawings required, and shall superintend all the construction and repair of all such buildings.

Subject to the approval of the Board of Education as to the number and salaries, the Commissioner of School Buildings shall have power to appoint as many engineers, janitors and other employees and agents as may be necessary for the proper performance of the duties of his department, for whom he shall be responsible, and whom he shall have power to remove; but the Board of Education may provide for a competitive examination for the positions of janitors and engineers; and when such provisions shall have been made, the Commissioner of School Buildings may be required by the Board to appoint janitors and engineers from the list obtained by such examination. He shall appoint such assistants and deputies as may be authorized by the Board of Education, whose compensation shall be fixed by the Board; and one of said assistants shall be a trained and educated engineer, qualified to design and construct the heating, lighting, ventilating, and sanitary machinery and apparatus connected with the public school buildings. Such assistants and deputies shall be subject to removal by the Commissioner of School Buildings, who shall be responsible for the proper performance of their duties.

Pursuant to the power contained in the quoted section, the Board has established rules under which applicants for janitors' positions are examined and classified. The system, although not ideal, works satisfactorily. In hard times, when the number of applicants is large, the examinations result in excellent lists, and good men will wait their turn for appointment. In prosperous times, however, when situations can be easily obtained, the selective process is not wholly a success. Furthermore, the small-

salaried positions are more constantly sought as political rewards, and suspicion is easily aroused that the appointments are the result of favoritism. Compared, however, with the selection of janitors by the Board or by the Commissioner, without the aid of the examination list, it is greatly to be preferred.

The matter of repairs upon the large number of school buildings is often a source of trouble and corruption in school administration. This subject falls in the St. Louis system upon the Commissioner, who has the necessary assistants under him to attend to the details. Among the qualifications sought in janitors is the mechanical ability to perform the work of small repairs. The general overhauling of the schools is done under contract during the summer months, and the repair of all heating and ventilating apparatus is performed under the supervision of a competent engineer. The subdivision of the schools among the directors, for the letting of repair work, is a part of many of the antiquated systems of school government, and is invariably productive of the worst results. It may be impossible under any system to wholly avoid wastefulness and thieving in this respect, but it is believed that the method adopted in St. Louis eliminates downright dishonesty, and is fairly economical.

The Secretary and Treasurer and the Auditor are the fiscal representatives of the schools, the former as the custodian of the funds and property, and the latter as accountant.

The Secretary and Treasurer and Auditor. While their independence of the Board is not as marked as in the case of the Superintendent of Instruction and Commissioner of School Buildings, they are not merely agents of that body.

Their duties cannot be imposed upon other persons, though they can be regulated. Under the law the Secretary and Treasurer is required to see that no liability is incurred or expenditure made without the authority of law, and that appropriations are not overdrawn.

"The Auditor also has the direct duty under the law to audit only such indebtedness and accounts as have been properly incurred.

"These two officers may rightfully obstruct any improper

expenditures and are therefore responsible to the public for the honesty of the administration.

"By the terms of the law, the Board may adopt by-laws or rules which are declared to be binding on it and the public, until regularly repealed."

So much for the form of the law, which, it may be added, has in its main provisions received the warm approval of President Eliot.

Dr. William Taussig, in the President's report for 1903, among other things, gives the following account of the practical work and the results:

"Under the organization of the Board there are four standing committees, corresponding with the departments, to wit:

The Practical Work.	Finance, Instruction, Buildings, and Auditing and Supplies; each committee acting in a supervisory capacity over one department. The respective heads of departments report to the
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Board at each monthly or any special or adjourned meeting the condition thereof, with their recommendations. All heads of departments and the attorney of the Board must attend the meetings of the Board and must be ready to answer to any inquiries made of them. Under this wise method, every part of the educational and administrative machinery of the public schools is thoroughly sifted, its merits and demerits carefully ascertained before it is presented to the Board for final action. Copies of these reports reach the members prior to the official meeting, and this enables them to fully digest the matter in hand and to take an intelligent view of it prior to the discussion and final vote in open Board. No hasty action, no snap judgment, no unforeseen surprises, are possible under these rules, and the result is a careful, conservative and dignified consideration of all subjects. The Board shapes the policy, the executive officers carry it out."

From the same report it appears that the plan to furnish free school-books to all grades in the district schools, and to the high schools, and also all stationery, writing and drawing utensils and kindergarten supplies, is now to be fulfilled, at an estimated expense of \$85,000 for the next scholastic year. Also that the

salaries of teachers have been materially increased; indeed, some of our citizens indulge the hope that ultimately a teacher's salary may be made equal to that of a policeman. The discipline which prevails is shown by the fact that out of an enrollment of 88,991 children, 67,362 were never tardy during the school year. A still more significant tribute to the management is found in the addition of new buildings, completed and in contemplation, and in the improvement of old ones. Without going into the question of number or cost of these new structures, it is safe to quote the president's report that the "new schools, so far as architecture, size, convenience and equipment are concerned, are not surpassed by any building of this character in the country." Nor does this statement, however emphatic, begin to describe the effect of these improvements upon the public. We had been trained to accept the contractor's job. We are now surprised by the architect's delight. Cheerful, spacious, sanitary and well lighted, these buildings are at once an education to the children, an inspiration to the teacher, and an incentive to the patriotism of the public. Too much cannot be said of this revolution (for such it is), which is apparent to every citizen, and which even then is but the tangible proof of the greater revolution throughout the administration.

In point of economy the results are most surprising. Experience, care and wisdom, such as are usually found only in large financial enterprises, have been employed to husband the finances. By the purchase of property in anticipation of actual needs, by prudent investment, and by businesslike expenditure, the Board has managed, in a comparatively short period of time, to raise the finances of our schools to a position which is well calculated to meet, if it does not actually meet, the reasonable demands of our community. Perhaps the most eloquent endorsement of this financial administration is to be found in the fact that by popular vote under authority of an act of the legislature of our State, the Board is given the power to increase the school tax from four mills on each dollar to six mills.

I do not feel competent to speak of the results which have been secured in the field of education proper. But it goes

without saying that a management, which is in other respects so admirable, under which the employment of teachers must necessarily be governed by consideration of public interest and welfare alone, and the advantages of whose facilities are in many respects so apparent, cannot but have exerted a powerful influence upon the educational features as well. It is safe to say that this Board has not failed in the chief purpose of a public school system, and that our schools occupy a position in the front rank. Again, we need not depend upon our own approval, but may confidently rely upon the word of distinguished men who are as competent as they are impartial.

For seven years this system has worked admirably—each year furnishing new proof of its wisdom. The only provision in the law looking to a preservation of the non-partisan character of the Board is the oath which every member is required to take. But so perfectly has the spirit which gave life to this law been observed in its administration, that while at the first election the Republican and Democratic parties were represented in the proportion of eight to four; since then newly elected members have by common consent been equally divided. And what is more important, the selections so made have in themselves, as a rule, been guarantees against partisan abuse of any kind. Furthermore, the four committees under the provisions of the by-laws, have been so arranged, and the manner of bringing all business to the attention of members in anticipation of meetings has been such that otherwise busy men have been able to give the required time and attention to this Board.

The question is naturally asked: How was this accomplished? How was it possible, in the very year and month of the inauguration of the city government to which

How was this we are chiefly indebted for our present disrepute,
Accomplished? to induce the State Legislature to enact such a law by the consent of the city's own representatives?

To repeat, it was done without agitation or antagonisms. There was no attempt to monopolize credit for the change to person or party, or to throw the burden of discredit upon any one organization, thereby forcing it in an effort at self-defence

to go to the rescue of those who were assailed. The very opposite course was pursued.

The old Board, with all that it stood for, was accepted and treated as a condition, in the improvement of which the general public was profoundly interested, and to the relief of which every citizen and party was invited to contribute. Conditions were propitious. The bad reputation of the old Board was sufficiently well understood to deter volunteers in its defense; and the natural desire to escape responsibility was inducement enough to move the representatives of the two great parties to secure what credit they could out of the reform. The law was therefore enacted with practically unanimous approval.

A more important question may be: How
How the Law was it possible to retain this law without sub-
is Retained. stantial opposition, in the face of the many and
varied legislative attacks that have in the mean-
time been made upon the city's right to local self-government?

In answer I should say that the very character of the institution ought to arouse the moral sentiment of the public against an attempt to bring it within partisan control. This was true when within two years after the inauguration of this system such an attack was made, and this would be still more true now, when public sentiment is asserting itself against the partisan control of even police and election regulations.

But above all, I should say that we are indebted to the wisdom and the moderation of the members themselves. In the administration of the law, they have observed the same policy which made the enactment of the law possible. They did not issue inflammatory accounts of the horrible conditions which they found upon taking charge of their trust. They have not since then indulged in condemnatory comparisons between the old Board and the new; nor sought to prove their virtue by contrast with the derelictions of their predecessors. They have simply set to work. The result is their argument. And if the political turmoil in our city has obscured the significance of that result, it comes upon us with double force now that the word of generous recognition has been spoken by so eminent an authority away from home.

The old system was calculated to force the individual applicant, whatever his mission or interest, to rely upon the influence or favor of some member of the Board. In marked contrast to this system, the individual member of the new Board has, to all intents and purposes, lost his identity. He is a member only when the Board is in session. While there are of course men who might be singled out by reason of particular merit, and who would be ornaments to any position in the State, it remains true that this organization is, in point of fact, what the law seeks to make it—a Board!

By wise consent the members have accomplished what no law could enforce. In preferring neither political organization, they have given satisfactory recognition to both. In claiming particular credit for no person and no party, they have made the entire Board the easy recipient of the public's common approval.

It is an unmixed privilege and pleasure to be called upon to speak of an organization, in which the triumph of the cause so happily measures the merits of the members. Steady, well considered, sane work is so much more effective than heated and spasmodic revolt, which may be inspired in part by resentment, in part by hero-worship, and which, as it impatiently presses on to its immediate goal, is almost sure to invite the opposition that must destroy it.

It goes without saying that no law can perpetuate itself; and I need not add that I do not contend for the absolute perfection of this particular law. I believe that it is well calculated to give opportunity to such men as every great city without question can produce; and that it merits the approval which most competent authorities have expressed. I am especially interested, however, to bring to public attention the fact that in spite of our unhappy reputation abroad, we not only have first-class citizens, but we have them in charge of our public education, and, as a result, we may point to a splendid instance of successful home rule. If occasion called for it, the Public Library Board might with perfect confidence be referred to as another.

Without wishing, therefore, to underestimate the importance of our new School Board law, I am disposed to think that the

Character of the Members. character of the men who have constituted the Board has been the important factor. Unwillingness to permit any man to use the School Board's work as his platform for political preferment, and thereby to drag the Board's trust into the arena of partisan contention, has been, and, in my judgment, will be, the chief guaranty for the continued successful operation of a system under which, in a measure at least, the reputation of the city of St. Louis has been redeemed.

The Progress of Home Rule in Cities

By Dr. ELLIS PAXON OBERHOLTZER, Philadelphia

Author "Robert Morris, Patriot and Financier," and "The Referendum in America"

It is not many years since the word referendum as applied to the submission of laws to popular vote in the United States was strange to our language, and it is a compliment I particularly enjoy to be told that my writings on the subject first directed attention to the fact that with the Swiss and American democracies this institution is a common possession. Similarly I am inclined to take the credit when it is proffered me for the invention of the phrase Home Rule as applied to the idea that cities should govern themselves free of the corrupt and warping interferences of the state legislatures. It is a feature of our local political system that came to light through my study of the referendum, and since that time, when the framing of charters by local boards was permitted only in Missouri, California and Washington, the method has extended to Minnesota, Colorado and Oregon, with less thoroughgoing though similar grants in New York, Louisiana and several other states. The respective

The Question rights of the state and the city under the new
Befogged. arrangement is to-day befogged as it was then,
 and the question, even yet, when we leave the
 theoretical discussion of it and attempt to give it

practical force must be accounted to be in an experimental stage. We are still in doubt whether city and state authorities can act together harmoniously under a system by which the servant is made independent of the master. Is there any good way to reconcile the idea of an independent city with the idea that that same city is an inseparable part of the state, subject to the general legislative authority of the state? Such a constitutional relation is difficult to establish, and is plainly in direct conflict with all our inherited notions in law respecting a municipal corporation which can only be regarded as a derivative creation of

the State. That such a conflict can and does arise is very clear from the experience in States enjoying home rule and in the reports of their Supreme Courts, where antagonistic interests contend for mastery and rival claims come to be adjudicated.

Nevertheless the attempt to bring about a clearer definition of the limits of authority between the city and the State has not been vain. Much has been achieved and more will be accomplished. The best methods of attaining an object which is generally recognized to be desirable will be discovered as our experiments continue. A mass of knowledge on the subject is already at hand.

It has been asserted freely for a long time that a member of a state legislature from some distant county whose people are scattered and know no other life but agriculture, mining or lumbering, has but few qualifications for making laws for great urban communities like New York, Chicago and Philadelphia. From a great many points of view the arrangement is absurd. Modern cities have increased in population so rapidly that one-fourth or one-third of all the inhabitants of a state are sometimes congregated in an area of a few square miles, living under social conditions entirely at variance with those of the man who resides on a farm or in a village. If our state legislators from the country were landed proprietors, acquainted for a part of the year with city life, as they often are in England, Germany and France, the impropriety of the relation would not be so great. If the country members were willing to be guided aright, the system could perhaps be tolerated; but the fact is, it must be confessed, that there are often no good guides, that theory aside the country representatives are safer guardians of the city's rights than its own representatives who are the principal malefactors in the legislature, organizing mischievous cabals and working through bribery and corruption to misgovern the great, populous, rich municipality with a budget many times larger than that of the state government. There is a feast beside the carcass and the bones are plucked by conspirators at the state capital whom the people of the city do not know and probably cannot reach. The development in the direction of

home rule does not rest upon any prejudice against distant rulers as such, if they be virtuous rulers, but is one of several movements intended to check notorious dishonesty and bring rascality within the city limits where an effort can be made to deal with it as it deserves. I have often said that home rule is not to be preferred to any other sort of rule, the democracy of St. Louis and San Francisco which frame their own charters not to be preferred to the system prevailing in the state-governed cities of Chicago and Philadelphia or the nation-governed city of Washington, if there be no honest and capable agents at home to administer the municipal government. Government anywhere is a laughable farce when there are not virtuous and intelligent men in positions of authority willing to devote their time and attention to its important tasks.

Somewhere in the great middle ground between complete dependence and absolute independence the relations of the state and the city will find an equilibrium. It should be no long time now until we are able to adjust our constitutional system to the new conditions and recognize the obvious fact that city government is a problem by itself, to be dealt with separately by students at close range of those very various, intricate and specific duties that adhere to the task of caring for the common needs of millions of people who use the same highways at all hours of the day and night, live in houses that are separated only by thin walls and partitions and come into contact at so many points, requiring mutual forbearance and well-defined and just rules of individual action. A New England town or a straggling Western village on a turn-pike, the ancestors of our great modern cities, presented none of those troublesome problems that confront those who are working to put order into the present American municipal system. The modern city is a new development, a comparatively sudden growth, striving to find a place for itself in an old system that never contemplated its existence. It is a great unwieldy bulk of people and problems forced into our midst, and it is not to be wondered at that we are still unclear as to what ground it should occupy.

The home rule idea, as applied to a large city, is kin with the general notion of local self-government, the valued heritage of the entire Anglo-Saxon race. The New England **Municipal** town enjoys rights which are guaranteed it by **Incorporation.** the state and which are not subject to great violations or interferences. The system by which cities are incorporated under special or general charters of government is a recognition of the fact that it is well to pledge to each municipal body a measure of independence. When the city appeared upon the scene it was understood that it would require special consideration, that it could not be governed as the town, township, county or older rural or semi-rural community had been governed. Therefore a law was enacted of special application to the larger, more populous town, usually in answer to an application or petition of its citizens, framed, indeed, very often by a committee of those citizens. It may have been submitted to the people of the city for their approval at the polls. As the city grew and its needs increased and its problems multiplied and became more difficult for the people to understand on account of their intricacy and magnitude, the legislature, upon its own initiation, or encouraged by the chicane of political "rings," formed in the city itself, began to change the charter. Scarcely a legislative session passed when bills were not introduced and adopted materially altering the instrument and tampering with the established rights of the citizens.

At this point the constitutional convention stepped in—the other law-making body in the state which checks and controls the mischievous legislature, a body we continue **Special Laws** to respect and trust, since it is composed of **Forbidden.** virtuous and knowing men—and declared that there should be no more special laws. The legislature must pass only general laws, that is, laws not for one city, but for all cities assumed to have the same general needs and requirements and belonging to a general class. This device, although widely adopted by the constitutional conventions, was and is very plainly a piece of opportunist subterfuge. The general law system has proven itself a complete failure. The day

of its usefulness has passed. It aggravates, retards and restricts one city by linking its fortunes in an arbitrary way with those of some other city, when the provision is not openly violated and evaded. There are classes everywhere in which the specified limitations allow of the admission of but a single city. There are states in which there are as many as six or seven classes of cities.

In California the counties are divided into fifty-
Classification. three classes. There are but fifty-seven counties in the entire state. More than one county could scarcely find membership in the forty-sixth class, for instance, which includes all counties having a population over 4,930 and under 4,980, or in the thirty-third class, having a population in excess of 10,030 and less than 10,070. It is useless to condemn the evasion, because it is practically necessary. There is no advantageous method by which cities can be brought under general laws, no method by which cities of different sizes, situations, industrial and social conditions can be made to answer to legal provisions that are exactly alike.

The general law failing, the next device, also the invention of the constitutional convention, was of a very different nature.

The convention undertook to bring the municipi-
The Failure of ality under its own supervision, to eliminate
the General the legislature as far as possible and entrust all
Law. the current and specific matters of local govern-
 ment to city agents. This movement was begun

in the Missouri State Convention of 1875, where it was designed to rid St. Louis of the malign influences of the legislature. The proposition took the form of allowing the people of the city to elect a board of thirteen freeholders who, acting as a miniature constitutional convention, should frame a charter for the city and submit it to the people. If it were adopted
Missouri's it should become the charter of the city in spite
Experiment. of the State legislature. If it should need to be
 changed in the future the city's law-making
 authorities might submit the question to popular vote—again without consulting the State legislature.

The convention made a similar provision for all cities in the State having a population of 100,000, which has since advantaged

Kansas City, that municipality adopting a freeholders' charter in 1889.

The example of Missouri was followed by California in 1879, when a convention met to frame a new charter for that State. It was desired that San Francisco should have the privileges already enjoyed by St. Louis. The provision was made to apply to all cities in the State having a population of more than 100,000, a limit attained by but one municipality, the California. city at the Golden Gate. The members of the convention looked upon the scheme as a dangerous novelty, one delegate declaring that it was the "boldest kind of an attempt at secession," while another sarcastically proposed that the city should enjoy at the hands of the State "all the privileges and consideration accorded to the most favored nations." Finally the convention adopted a compromise providing that when the charter was approved by the people it should be submitted to the State legislature, which, however, must "accept or reject it as a whole without power of alteration or amendment."

In 1887 the limit of population was reduced from 100,000 to 10,000, and in 1890 from 10,000 to 3,500, so that to-day there is no city of any importance in the State which may not frame and amend its own charter subject later to the will of the legislature as an approving body, though this assent has never yet been withheld. San Francisco, for which the provision was intended, after five attempts, beginning in 1880, succeeded in securing a home-made charter only after eighteen years—in 1898. Now Los Angeles, Oakland, Stockton, San Diego, San Jose, Sacramento, Santa Barbara, Berkeley and several other cities in California have such charters.

In 1889, when a convention met to frame a constitution for the new State of Washington, the delegates had the California constitution before them as a model, and copied Washington. with minor changes this important feature of the instrument. Any city within the State, of a population of 20,000 or more, may frame its own charter through a board of freeholders, an opportunity early embraced by Seattle, Tacoma and Spokane.

The fourth State to permit cities to form their own charters under constitutional guarantee was Minnesota. At the general election in 1896 the people of the State, by a vote of 107,086 to 58,312, adopted a constitutional amendment which conferred a large degree of independence upon cities and villages. The amendment was itself amended in slight details in 1898. The system as it has been worked out in Minnesota discloses several original features. There is absolutely no minimum of population. "Any city or village" may have its own charter, receiving it from a board of fifteen freeholders. This board, however, is to be a permanently constituted body appointed by the district judges, instead of being elected by the people as in the other states. The freeholders are appointed for six years (by the original provision of 1896 for life) and vacancies by reason of expiring terms or for any other cause are filled in the manner in which the members were first chosen. The board must "always contain its full complement of members." The charter must be submitted to the people, and a four-sevenths majority vote is necessary for its ratification. The board of freeholders also proposes and submits charter amendments which are adopted when ratified by three-fifths of those voting upon them at a city election, although five per cent of the legal voters of the city may originate and can compel the freeholders to refer any desired amendment to popular vote.

In 1902 the voters of Colorado amended their State constitution, extending charter-making rights to the city of Denver, and by a supplementary provision to all cities of 2,000 inhabitants and upwards. "The people of the city and county of Denver," the law reads, "are hereby vested with and shall always have the exclusive power in the making, altering, revising or amending of their charter." Here the framing body is appropriately called a "charter convention," and it consists of twenty-one taxpayers elected by the qualified voters of the city. The provision is practically obligatory, for if the first charter be rejected at the polls, in thirty days twenty-one members of a new charter convention must be chosen, and so on indefinitely until an instru-

ment is framed which is to the people's mind. The convention must upon each occasion complete its labors within sixty days. The right of initiative is recognized in the amendment of the charter. Five per cent of the electors of the city may unite in a petition for "any measure, charter amendment or for a charter convention," and the proposition must then be submitted to the people at the next general election. Ten per cent petitioning, a special election may be held. Practically the same process is prescribed for the smaller cities of Colorado.

Oregon began her experiments with home rule in 1901, when the legislature authorized and appointed the members of a "charter board" for the city of Portland. It
Oregon. was to be composed of thirty-three members who should prepare a charter within a period of nine months, submit its work to the people, which if it were endorsed by them would then go to the State legislature for its approval or rejection "as a whole without power of alteration or amendment." The Oregon legislature has lately twice passed a constitutional amendment—in 1901 and 1903—incorporating home rule into the general system of the State after the manner prevailing in California and Washington, thus taking the business of charter-making for cities out of the hands of the legislature in every state on the Pacific Coast.

To recapitulate, the situation in these six States is as follows: In all but one of the states charters are framed by a body called a board of freeholders. In the other, Colorado,
Recapitulation. it is called a charter convention. Whatever the name, it is in each instance a committee of citizens of the municipal district to which the new scheme of government will apply. This board is composed of fifteen members, except in Missouri, where thirteen suffice, and in Colorado, where twenty-one are considered to be necessary. In all the states but Minnesota the body is elected by the people of the city for the single and specified object of drawing up a charter. In Minnesota the members are appointed by the local judges of the courts, and the board is a permanent body. The members serve for a term of six years, and vacancies are filled by the original appointing authority.

The privilege is restricted to cities containing as tated number of inhabitants, except in Minnesota and Oregon, where all cities may enjoy it equally. In California the lowest limit is a population of 3,500 (earlier, 10,000, and still earlier, 100,000); in Washington, 20,000; in Missouri, 100,000; and in Colorado, 2,000.

In all six States the charters being framed are to be submitted to the people for their approval a simple majority vote sufficing in St. Louis and in California, Washington, Colorado and Oregon. A four-sevenths majority is necessary in Kansas City and in Minnesota. In one State, California, the charter after it has been adopted by the people must be referred to the State legislature, although only for its "approval or rejection as a whole," and without power of alteration or amendment in details. Charter amendments in the States of Missouri, Washington and Oregon may be proposed by the "legislative authority" of the city; in Colorado by five per cent of the electors; in California by the city council or by fifteen per cent of the electors, and in Minnesota by a permanently constituted board of freeholders or by five per cent of the electors. The amendments must be submitted to the people of the city as were the original charters, and must be approved by them, a three-fifths vote being necessary in Missouri and Minnesota, a simple majority sufficing in the State of Washington, California (earlier, three-fifths), Oregon and Colorado. In California amendments like the original charters must be ratified by the State legislature.

Very early in our experience with constitutional provisions making cities semi-independent of state control it was discovered

	that they came into conflict with general and
Conflicts with	well-established systems of state administration,
General	as in reference to courts, schools, taxation, streets
System.	and roads and a number of matters of undeniable
	importance. Very often it is desirable that uni-

formity of system shall not be destroyed; in other cases the confusion is technical, and could be avoided if the state legislature were disposed to keep its hands off the affairs of a community which is partially in a constitutional manner relieved from such supervising authority. That the relinquishment of

power is sometimes held by the city to have been greater and by the State legislature smaller than either right or public policy will allow, is to be expected, and it is precisely this result which has come to pass. It is here that difference begins and contention arises, the city being at a serious disadvantage in the contest. That the legislature may still enact "general laws," meaning practically any law, is in several states openly recognized. In Missouri the constitution specifies that the General Assembly retains "the same power over the city and county of St. Louis that it has over the other cities and counties of this State," and also that the charter and its amendments shall "always be in harmony with and subject to the constitution and laws of Missouri." In California and Washington the freeholders' charters must be "consistent with and subject to the constitution and laws of this State;" in Oregon "subject to and controlled by general laws." Colorado has taken the precaution to declare that no charter or charter amendment "shall diminish the tax rate for State purposes fixed by act of the General Assembly or interfere in any wise with the collection of taxes." On the other hand, it is rather imperiously and brashly asserted that "anything in the constitution of this State in conflict or inconsistent with the provisions of this amendment is hereby declared to be inapplicable to the matters and things by this amendment covered and provided for."

In Minnesota it is plainly declared that freeholders' charters and general laws shall be in force in the city side by side at the same time. While the charter is to be "in harmony with and subject to the constitution and laws of the State," general laws may be passed for cities of four classes which are defined by the constitution, "paramount while in force to the provisions relating to the same matter included in the local charter." Moreover, as a further precaution, the city is specially enjoined against passing laws to supersede the State provisions "defining or punishing crimes or misdemeanors."

Where the effort has been made to constitute the city "an empire within an empire," with not too careful regard for its continued obligations to the state, the legislature is as active in its interferences as it ever was. The courts have repeatedly

An Empire within an Empire. declared that a city, although organized under a charter of its own framing, must still submit to State control. The Supreme Court of Missouri said in 1889: "The legislative power of the State is vested in a senate and a house of representatives, and when it is declared that any city of the required population may frame and adopt a charter for its own government the right thus granted and the charter adopted is subject to legislative control. The proposition that when any such city has adopted a charter it is out of and beyond all legislative influence cannot be sustained." The Supreme Court of California seems to have expressed an undeniable truth when, in passing upon a question of right which reached it from one of these self-governing cities, it said: "In all matters which may affect the State at large, or whenever any legislation is in its judgment appropriate for all parts of the State, it [the legislature] possesses all the legislative power of the State that has not been specifically denied to it, and upon whatever subjects its power to pass a general law exists, such general law must be the controlling rule of action in all parts of the State and over all its citizens."

That to avoid needless dispute of authority which the courts must constantly arbitrate, some device is required, is obvious when regard is had for Minnesota's recent suggestion. In that State it is plainly recognized that cities must be under the legislature's direction as before, and the constitution provides that though they may have their freeholders' charters they must at the same time live under "general laws," which in their own province are to be "paramount while in force to the provisions relating to the same matter included in the local charters." There can be no dispute here, for whenever the local charter and the general law overlap or conflict, the constitution states specifically that the general law shall have the precedence.

There is still by the Minnesota system, however, no room for special legislation in reference to cities. To find a system harmonizing this idea with the idea of home rule, by which municipalities may within limits determine the character of the laws passed for their own government, has been reserved for New York. In that State, since the constitution was revised in 1894,

New York's Constitution. the legislature is authorized to pass special laws in regard to cities, thus taking account of the constitutional and inherent differences in municipal needs, but these special laws as bills must be referred to the municipal authorities of the city to which they relate. The mayor of the city may give the bill submitted to him a public hearing, when all persons interested in the subject can appear to present their objections to the measure, should they have any to offer. After hearing from both sides he may interpose his veto, if he see fit, though this action is without effect if the legislature shall choose to pass the measure over his negative, and the governor shall sign it. It becomes a law in any case, though in that event it must be expressly declared in its title for the information of all whom it may concern that it was "passed without the acceptance of the city."

This constitutional provision legally opens the way to special legislation when the State legislature may adjudge it to be needful. It requires that all such acts shall be referred to the regularly delegated officials within each city whose government the legislature proposes to change, though it recognizes the supreme authority of the legislature, the governor and the other agencies to which the general welfare has been committed by the sovereign people when it provides a method for the enactment of the law in spite of possible petty local hostility.

Thus while some difficulties are put in the way of special legislation for cities, it is not made wholly impossible. The reference of the bill to the locality to be affected by it affords an opportunity for public discussion, and should it really be an unworthy measure, it is reasonable to think—at least this is the underlying theory—that it could not be so easily passed a second time in the face of local disapproval. Whatever the final outcome of this interesting contest between the city and the State regarding municipal government, it is plain that we are all the while tending toward results which promise soon to be more definite and, it may be hoped, more satisfactory to all the important interests involved. If New York has taken a step in this direction and has proven herself wise beyond her sister States in the treatment of this question, her example, it may be inferred,

will be generally followed throughout the country within the next few years.

At the moment the balance is on the side of the freeholders' charter, but the system up to this time has secured a foothold only in the West, where institutions are sometimes fleeting and tendencies temporary. In the East, where less faith in democracy is expressed, and radical measures are not so favorably

regarded, the suggestion that the city be pitted against the State in unhappy combat is not enthusiastically received. To the student of constitutional law, home rule through city-made

charters appears to be only one of several not too well considered forms of protest against municipal rascality. It is an attempt to make city government more simple, to bring the sense of responsibility home to the people, and in line with the strong modern movement raising the mayor to great power at the expense of the council with the purpose of presenting to view agents that can be kept under public surveillance and punished for their sins.

Until the cities which frame their own charters can demonstrate that their success in government is in some important way greater than our success in New York, Boston, Philadelphia and Chicago, the rest of the country will be skeptical of the worth of the system. Method is very little; results are everything, in city government, and these are not very brilliant at this writing in the cities which have embraced this reform. When all the arguments have ended and the discussion of forms, theories and methods has run its course, the fact remains that that city will be the best governed which is in the hands of the most capable body of administrators. This will be the final test, whether the city shall receive its charter from its own board of freeholders or be incorporated under a special or general law of the State legislature, and we in the East can afford to await the evidence of a material betterment of the West's municipal conditions before we decide to follow its bold though very interesting example.

The Municipal Program

By Dr. DELOS F. WILCOX

Secretary, Civic Club, Grand Rapids, Mich., Author "The American City"

Seven years ago at the Louisville convention of this League Mr. Horace E. Deming, of New York, presented the following resolution, which after due consideration was adopted:

"Resolved, That the Executive Committee appoint a Committee of Ten to investigate and report on the feasibility of a Municipal Program, which shall embody the essential principles that must underlie successful municipal government, and which shall also set forth a working plan or system, consistent with American political institutions and adapted to American industrial and political conditions, for putting such principles into practical operation; and said committee, if it find such a Municipal Program to be feasible, is instructed to report the same, with its reasons therefor, to the League for consideration."

The "Committee of Ten," as actually made up, had seven members, all distinguished citizens of New York and Pennsylvania. In the following year, 1898, this committee made a preliminary report which formed the basis for the discussions at the Indianapolis Conference for Good City Government. The report was then finally revised and presented to the Columbus Conference in 1899 for adoption. Having received the approval of the League, the report of the committee, together with various introductory and explanatory papers and discussions, was published in book form under the name, "A Municipal Program," and has for the past five years exerted a far-reaching influence upon municipal reform in the United States.

The Municipal Program is an attempt to crystallize and formulate the best American theory as to the right organization of municipal government. The Program is not calculated to ensure good administration, but to give an opportunity for it. The National Municipal League, like all other truly American

bodies, is pledged to democracy, and sees no sovereign remedy for municipal evils except to give the people a fair chance to control their government. If the people are corrupt and bind themselves over to the spoilers, there is no remedy in legislation and constitution-making. We can only hope that the relentless law of compensation, which makes corruption self-destructive, and the educational influence of better ideals will in the long run cure the people of evil-mindedness. Indeed, it is unthinkable that democracy, if sufficiently intelligent, should become or remain corrupt. There is no motive for it. It is appropriate, therefore, that the Municipal Program formulated by this League should have for its principal purpose to free the popular will, to break down the barriers that now hinder us from the realization of municipal government of, for and by the people.

A brief review of the principles of municipal reform as embodied in the Program and illustrated in the recent experiences and present necessities of American cities may be of value.

These principles are chiefly the following:

1. That every city or other local community should have the right of self-government in its local affairs without the interference of outside governmental or party machinery.
2. That the city's public property in land, with especial reference to franchise rights, should be so safeguarded as to be preserved unimpaired for the use of all the people in this and future generations.
3. That all barriers should be removed which prevent the popular will from freely and effectively expressing itself as the public will.
4. That municipal administration should be conducted in the main by a class of public servants who by reason of experience and special training are particularly fitted for their official duties.
5. That official responsibility should be so placed through simplification of governmental machinery and full publicity of accounts that the people may hold their public servants to the execution of the public will with the least possible delay and uncertainty.

The purpose of "municipal home rule" is simply that the people of every city may have a chance to think what they are doing and do what they are thinking when they are electing local officials and voting on local questions. A clear issue and a free judgment are as necessary for the community as for the individual. The successful student, the capable workman, the useful man in every walk of life, is the one who thinks what he is doing and is free to do the best there is in him. Surely the functions of city government are sufficiently vital and sufficiently complex to deserve the honest and careful attention of the people. The purpose of home rule is to make this possible. We can all agree on the proposition that every community should have the right and be held to the duty to attend to its own affairs. The difficulty comes in formulating a practical program which will carefully delimit the sphere of the state and local governments, preserve the integrity of the state and the liberties of the cities, and promote efficiency in the conduct of all public affairs. Dr. Oberholtzer has reviewed for us the "Home Rule Provisions in American Municipal Charters," so that it will be only necessary here to outline the home rule provisions of the Municipal Program and call attention briefly to their practical significance in the American city problem of to-day.

In the first place, then, the Municipal Program confers upon all cities by constitutional guaranty a general grant of governmental powers, including the same powers of taxation as are possessed by the state and the power "to perform and render all public services" subject only to specific limitations by state law. In other words, the rule that a municipal corporation is a body with enumerated powers to be strictly construed is reversed, and any function not specifically forbidden by state law may be undertaken by a city. The necessity for this change lies in the fact that municipal functions cannot be successfully enumerated. It would be folly to pass a law setting forth in detail the various kinds of things a man may do. The only practical method is for the law to enumerate the things a man shall not do. The same rule holds good in regard to local government. The Constitution of the United States reserves to the individual common-

wealths the indeterminate, unenumerated powers of government. In like manner the individual commonwealths, after conferring upon their central governments such powers and functions as are necessary for the general welfare, should reserve to the local communities the indeterminate and unenumerated powers of government. Going one step further, the local communities should choose the necessary public functions and reserve to the individual citizens such freedom of action as is possible after the public necessities of nation, commonwealth and city have been satisfied. This is the logical and practically necessary scheme of "a government of the people, for the people and by the people." Not only is this clear in theory, but it is illustrated every year in the futile attempt of some legislature to spin out all the minute details of authority required by a modern city, and by the constant limitation of municipal functions on account of the absence from city charters of clauses granting specific authority to perform some unforeseen public service.

In the second place, the Municipal Program requires every state legislature to enact a general municipal corporations law, and offers a draft of such a law. This general

A General Municipal Corporations Law.	act is to be applicable to all the cities of the state, and be operative in such cities as adopt it by popular vote. The Constitution and laws of the United States do not discriminate between Kansas and Ohio, Nevada and New York, or Delaware and Texas. All the States have equal powers within their sphere of jurisdiction. In like manner there is no need, with a general grant of powers, for special charters from the state legislature to cities of various sizes and locations. The requirement of a general act governing cities gives wholesome encouragement to the legislature to refrain from interference with the affairs of individual cities.
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In the third place, the Municipal Program puts a direct and powerful check upon such interference, while not absolutely prohibiting it under all circumstances. It is provided that all legislative acts applicable to less than all of the cities of the state shall require a two-thirds affirmative vote for passage and shall then be submitted by the legislature to the council of every city

affected by them. Unless approved by the council within sixty days, or, failing such approval, repassed by the legislature within thirty days thereafter by a three-fourths vote of all the legislators from the state outside of the cities affected and a two-thirds vote of all, such special acts cannot go into effect. This provision is patterned after a provision incorporated in the New York constitution of 1894, but is much more stringent and would absolutely cut off all special legislation obnoxious to cities except under the most extraordinary circumstances. The framers of the Municipal Program did not go quite the full length of cutting off the ultimate authority of the legislature in such cases.

In the fourth place, the Municipal Program reserves to every city of more than 25,000 population the right to frame and adopt its own charter. This plan is in practical operation in varying degrees of completeness in five commonwealths, not including Oregon, where the amendment has been passed by two legislatures, but not yet submitted to the people. These commonwealths contain eight cities with over 100,000 population each, and eight others with more than 25,000. With a general grant of powers established in the constitution as well as a brief outline of municipal organization, the right of a city to frame its own charter comes to be chiefly the right of the people to arrange the details of municipal organization and place such limitations upon the council and the executive officers of the city as seem necessary for the preservation of the people's rights. This part of the Municipal Program is often misunderstood as conferring upon aldermen the right to make and amend charters. As a matter of fact, the scheme leaves to the people of the city the right by means of a constituent convention to frame their own charter and put such limitations upon the powers of the city council as they see fit.

As a final guaranty of home rule, the Municipal Program strikes a body blow at the interference of political parties in city elections. Party machinery is often as persistent as governmental machinery. And so it is necessary, not only to permit cities to perform local public functions, but also to let the people think what they are doing when so engaged. For national

political parties to intrude in municipal politics and drag irrelevant issues into the decision of local problems is impertinent and unmannerly. To prevent this and at least guarantee to the people the right to mind their own business in local elections, the Program provides that municipal shall be separate from state and national elections and that all nominations for municipal offices shall be made by petition and the names of all candidates printed together on the ballot without party designations. In recent years the struggle for primary reform has been going on all over the country. A few important cities now nominate their officials by direct vote of the people. Yet a system of direct nominations that compels the people of a city to divide into parties according to their views on national issues and fight out their local battles along these lines is radically wrong. In some respects it further encourages the intrusion of national politics into local affairs. Free nominations by petition are an essential feature of a home rule program.

The second fundamental principle of the Municipal Program is that a city's rights in the streets, parks, waterways and other public places should be inalienable so long as these places are needed for public use. They

Franchise Rights. these places are needed for public use. They can be alienated under no circumstances except by a four-fifths vote of all the members of the council approved by the mayor. Franchise grants are limited to twenty-one years in order that the rights of a future generation to the full and free use of the streets may never again be taken away by the corrupt or heedless representatives of this generation. In order that the city may in reality retain the full use of its property, every city is permitted to exercise the option of operating its own franchises if it sees fit. Indeed, the city is exempted from all limitations upon its indebtedness for these purposes, provided only that it operates its public utilities so that they are self-sustaining. To further guarantee the city's rights, every franchise-holder is compelled to keep detailed books of account open to the inspection of the city and make quarterly financial reports to the city comptroller. It needs no argument to satisfy us all, I am sure, that the street should be kept "an open road" for the common use of all, and that the bartering away of the

rights of future generations to the use of the city's public places is nothing short of a crime.

The third great principle of the Municipal Program is that the will of the people shall prevail. To this end the initiative in the adoption or amendment of city charters is **Direct Popular Responsibility.** given to the people by means of petitions signed by a small percentage of the voters. This provision alone would open the way for full popular control of local government. But the Program goes further and provides specifically that on popular petition or otherwise any city may establish a system of direct legislation applicable to all city matters. The necessity for direct legislation arises from the peculiar conditions of the times. The representative system is breaking down because of the immense concentration of the control of wealth and its relation to government in franchise matters, taxation, regulation, etc. It is practically impossible for the average American citizen, with his weakness for gold, to resist the tremendous pressure brought to bear upon him when elected to public office with ultimate authority to grant special privileges and regulate large enterprises that touch the government in various ways. It is a waste of manhood to subject alderman after alderman to such temptations when by the device of direct legislation we can bring the whole people face to face with their enemy. The "enemies of the Republic" are so powerful and the crisis we are in so pregnant with disaster that the whole people must be organized into a legion of honor to fight for civic freedom.

The fourth principle of the Municipal Program is that city officials need to know their business. It is gradually dawning upon the American mind that special knowledge **Municipal Administration.** is required to run the machinery of city government, if we are to avoid a wreck. It is not enough for a man to be a "good fellow" or to know how to read and write or to be successful in business even, to make a good city official. The complex machinery of a city can be run only by those who know how to do that particular thing. Of course policemen and firemen are permanent officials, with special skill gained by training and experience. But the

city engineer's force, the employees of the board of health, the park superintendent, the water-works employees, the auditing clerks, and practically the whole body of municipal officials need special knowledge and long experience to give the city the benefit of good service. And so the Municipal Program provides that "all appointments and promotions in the subordinate administrative service of the city, including laborers, shall be made solely according to fitness, which shall be ascertained, so far as practicable, by examinations that, so far as practicable, shall be open competitive examinations," and that "all persons in the administrative service of the city, except the mayor, shall hold their offices without fixed terms." There is elaborate provision for the regulation of the civil service and every effort is made to avoid the pitfalls which are found in civil service regulations not adequately worked out to fit practical conditions.

The fifth principle of the Municipal Program is concentration of official responsibility. The mayor and council are to be the only officials elected by the people, the one being made responsible for the whole administrative service outside of the finance department, and the other being given all legislative powers not retained by the people themselves.

The mayor is to appoint and remove all heads of departments at pleasure except the comptroller. All subordinate administrative officials are appointed by him subject to civil service rules, and may be removed by him for reasons stated in writing, but not based on religious or political considerations. The financial department of the city is to be in charge of the comptroller, who is to be elected by the council and be responsible to that body. He is to have charge of all auditing and accounting operations, and is required to make annual reports to the state fiscal officer according to uniform schedules applying to all the cities of the state. Bringing the auditing department under the control of the council is calculated to render safe and salutary the great concentration of administrative powers in the mayor's hands.

Such are the main features of the Municipal Program adopted by this League five years ago. Both time and knowl-

Use of the Program. edge fail me to make a detailed statement of the use and influence of this Program since its promulgation. It has nowhere been enacted into law as a whole, but its influence has been felt practically everywhere that charters have been framed, constitutions revised or municipal reform agitated "under the flag." It was published in full in Honolulu for the benefit of the Hawaiian legislature. It was used by the Havana Charter Commission and, I believe, by the Porto Rican and Philippine Commissions. It has left marked traces in the new constitutions of Virginia and Alabama, and has formed the basis for a sweeping amendment to the Colorado constitution. The Charter Commission of Portland, Ore., used it. The Charter Revision Commission of New York City adopted some of its provisions. The Duluth and St. Paul charters are in line with it in important respects. It has formed the basis of agitation for charter reform in Wisconsin, Michigan, Delaware, and doubtless many other States. Its experience in Ohio, however, has been unfortunate. The Municipal Code Commission in that State was at work at the time of the Columbus Conference for Good City Government, at which the Program was adopted. Perhaps on account of their proximity, the commissioners absorbed so many reform ideas that their code was rejected by the Ohio politicians. In the Ohio code of 1902, which may be designated as the "Cox frame of municipal government," all traces of the influence of the National Municipal League were successfully obliterated. It is to be hoped that our presence in Chicago will not provoke a similar reactionary spirit in proposed Illinois legislation.

"Corruption is treason!" is Mr. Folk's magnificent challenge to battle down in Missouri. Mr. Lincoln Steffens, in his powerful portrayal in the April *McClure's* of Folk's battle with corruption, has rendered a service to the whole nation. The only way to overthrow the "system" is to cut off its roots. St. Louis is in name a home rule city; yet its powers and privileges are very scant compared with those given to cities by the Municipal Program. Because its home rule is imperfect, Mr. Folk has been unable to cut off the local root of the "system." It is only by the perfection of local and popular responsibility that "graft"

can be eliminated. Fix it so that every valiant patriot can carry on a fruitful battle with the forces of evil in his own town, and by and by the "system" will fall of its own weight.

The Municipal Program is an intelligent plan for giving the people a fair chance to become and remain free. In the midst of the reports of municipal corruption in Philadelphia, St. Louis, Minneapolis, Grand Rapids, Milwaukee, Chicago and the rest of the cities, big and little, we are sometimes asked if after all there are not signs of improvement. Our answer must be—Not yet! Not yet! There is nothing in the general condition of municipal affairs in the United States to offer a crumb of comfort to any citizen who is not doing his level best for his own city. Our call is a call to battle. Civic cleanliness and civic freedom can be had only by somebody's sacrificing something. As President Hadley has said, we must have a higher order of patriotism—a patriotism that will make men, including some big business men, vote and work against their own pecuniary interest for the sake of justice and civic honor. But the thing to do is not to get frantic, but to coolly and steadily fight for position. That is the Municipal Program.

Report of Committee on Uniform Municipal Accounting and Statistics

By Dr. EDWARD MUSSEY HARTWELL, Boston, Chairman
City Statistician of Boston

The Committee on Uniform Municipal Accounting and Statistics begs leave to present the following as its fourth report:

While the committee has held but two formal meetings since the last meeting of the League, one in Boston and one in New York, it has been instrumental in various ways in forwarding the interests of Uniform Municipal Accounting. Thus: (1) At the

Hot Springs Thirteenth National Conference of State Boards
Conference. of Commissioners for Promoting Uniformity of
Legislation in the United States, held at Hot
Springs, Virginia, August 24, 1903, the chairman

of this committee (being invited to open the discussion on a paper presented by Mr. L. G. Powers, one of the chief statisticians of the United States Census Bureau, on "A Uniform System of Accounting in State, County and Municipal Affairs") was enabled to explain the aims and work of this committee to the conference. The conference appointed a Special Committee

on a Uniform System of Accounting in State and Municipal Affairs. (2) Five members of the committee, viz: Messrs. Chase, Cleveland, Ford, Hartwell and Henderson attended a conference

Washington held last November in Washington, at the invitation of S. N. D. North, Director of the Census
Conference. Bureau, to discuss the best methods of securing
uniform and comparable statistics relating to the

wealth, debt, taxation and administration of cities having 30,000 inhabitants or upwards. The conference, which brought together more than thirty men, including auditors, comptrollers, statisticians, State and national officials from fifteen different

In installing improved systems of ac-
 cessing in the cities of Houston, Texas, Okla-
 homa City, Oklahoma, and St. Joseph, Missouri,
 Messrs. Flakins and Sells, of New York City,
 have had the benefit of the expert advice of Dr. F. A. Cleveland,
 who, as a matter of fact, was present.

At the last meeting of the League your committee was instructed to prepare a volume on Uniform Municipal Accounting. The committee has entrusted the preparation of such a volume to a special committee, consisting of Messrs. Hartwell, Cleveland and Woodruff. Circumstances beyond their control have prevented the completion of the volume in question, but they report progress. They are at work upon a volume in which the historical, theoretical and practical aspects of uniform accounting will be fully treated, and an abstract given of the most significant papers and reports that have appeared on the subject. The remainder of this report will be devoted to a consideration of the origin and growth of the present movement for promoting uniform municipal accounting.

It would be idle to attribute the origin or the success of this movement to any person or to any group or association of persons.

Its sources have been many and various, owing
Origin of to a growing desire by city officials as well as
Movement. advocates of reform to apply the teachings of
experience to the direction and administration
of municipal affairs, and the conviction that no city can hope to
profit either by its own experience or that of other cities, so long
as its scheme of accounting is slipshod and its departmental
reports are confused, inadequate and incapable of being co-ordi-
nated. Accordingly we find that in one city the criticisms of a
businesslike mayor have resulted in improved statements by the
city auditor; in another city a progressive comptroller has reor-
ganized the city's accounts or changed the plan and make-up of
his annual reports.

Arguments for central control of the financial reports of
cities and for the establishment of uniform systems of municipal
accounting have been drawn from the experi-
Early Acts. ence of several States whose laws placed the
accounts of counties under the supervision of
State officials. In this connection mention should be made of
the Minnesota act passed in 1878, providing for the appointment
by the governor of a "public examiner" to examine the accounts
of State and county officers, with power to enforce a correct and
uniform system of bookkeeping on the part of county officers, as
well as of State and banking institutions; the Massachusetts act
of 1879, which placed the accounts of certain county officers
under the supervision of the Savings Banks Commissioner and
the Massachusetts statute of 1887, which established the office
of Controller of County Accounts; the provision of the Consti-
tution of Wyoming, which took effect in 1892, that the accounts
of the State, of State institutions and of counties should be sub-
ject to official supervision by a State Examiner. Both North
Dakota and South Dakota have enacted laws somewhat similar
to those of Minnesota and Wyoming. But the most compre-
hensive statute relating to public accounts and reports is the
"Uniform Public Accounting Law" passed by the Legislature of
Ohio in 1902. The purpose of the act as set forth in its title is

"To create a bureau of inspection and supervision of public offices, and to establish a uniform system of public accounting, auditing and reporting under the administration of the auditor of the State." The accounts and reports of all cities and towns, as well as all counties, in Ohio, are subjected to the supervision, prescription and control of the Auditor of the State.

Meanwhile, but more particularly within the last five years, a keen and widespread interest in municipal problems of every kind has manifested itself. Accordingly the subject of uniform municipal accounts, reports and statistics has received more and more attention from various leagues and associations organized to deal with the distinctive interests and needs of cities.

In an article entitled "State Supervision of Cities," published in May, 1895, Professor John R. Commons advocated the estab-

Professor Commons' Article.	lishment of "State Municipal Boards" having supervisory powers as a means for promoting more intelligent city government, and urged that one of the principal divisions of such a board should be its "Auditing Department, composed of experts who should prescribe a system of bookkeeping and examine the books of city officers at any time, . . . and make reports giving the comparative standing of all cities in the more important items of expenditures, revenues, tax rate and debt."
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In the *Quarterly Journal of Economics* for July, 1896, is found an article by Mr. Frederick R. Clow, entitled "Suggestions for the Study of Municipal Finance." Mr. Clow, as appears from the following extracts from his article, favored the very line of policy which this committee has adopted:

The great need is for better financial reports, and that need should be made known to officials at every opportunity. A good financial report requires some labor and expense, and skill in handling municipal statistics.

Professor Clow's Suggestions.	For my own work, and that of a few students, I have outlined the following plan: (1) Clearly separate and distinguish the functions or activities of a local government. (2) Include under each function all the expenditure it occasions, also all the revenue it yields. (3) Divide both expenditure and revenue into ordinary and extraordinary, the latter including such items as the purchase of land, construction of permanent
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works, payment of debt, and receipts from lease or sale of land. (4) Combine the score or two of functions into groups according to their relations to each other. This makes the separation of functions a scheme of division and subdivision. (5) Give a statement of assets and liabilities.

Existing classifications, both home and foreign, are based on the arrangement for administrative purposes, and so furnish no basis for a logical classification. At the risk of being pronounced an impractical theorist, I shall take a theory of government as a starting point.

Wagner, *Finanzwissenschaft*, i, 64-68, divides the functions of government into two classes: (1) The police duty, or provision for public safety, *Rechts- und Machtszweck*; (2) promoting public welfare, *Cultur- und Wohlfahrtszweck*. Then he adds two others which are necessary to secure these: (1) The maintenance of the general government; (2) a financial system to provide resources for all the functions of government. So he would classify expenditures under the following heads: (1) Maintenance of the government; (2) public safety; (3) public welfare; and (4) financial system.

Following Wagner in part, I would classify the functions of a local government as follows:

I. The immediate functions of self-maintenance, requiring a legislature, executive officers, a financial system, certain material equipment, elections, and the sustaining of suits in court.

II. The ultimate functions of meeting the needs of the community.

1. Services to other governments, *e. g.*, collecting taxes, conducting elections.

2. Care of certain classes of its residents: criminals, poor, defectives, sick.

3. Providing for the public welfare.

(a) General services.

(1) Public safety; courts, police, militia, fire protection, inspection of food and buildings, regulation of dangerous pursuits, and sanitary measures.

(2) Public convenience: bridges, streets, parks, lighting and cleaning the same, sewers, and removing garbage.

(3) Higher objects: schools, libraries, public celebrations, documents, and monuments.

(b) Quasi-private undertakings: water-works, gas and electric lighting, street railway, market, wharf, and ferry. For practical work the expenditures may be divided into six classes: (1) Maintenance of the government; (2) care of certain classes; (3) public safety; (4) public convenience; (5) higher objects; and (6) quasi-private undertakings.

Thus in compliance with the other directions, the statistics for each class are arranged in some such schedule as the following, which is applicable to class I:

MAINTENANCE OF GOVERNMENT.	EXPENDITURES.		RECEIPTS.	
	Ordinary.	Extraor- dinary.	Ordinary.	Extraor- dinary.
Legislation				
General executive				
Financial system				
Legal (judgments, etc.) .				
Elections				
Material equipment				
Other				
Total				

The totals of all the classes are finally entered into a summary, also arranged as above.

It would be Utopian to expect any considerable number of American cities ever to make their regular financial reports on such a plan as has been here outlined, or, indeed, on any other one plan. But such a plan is not, nevertheless, as Utopian. The federal census has made a good beginning in municipal statistics; and its figures for 1890, with all their defects, are a mine of information on local finance. If the statistics were made complete for the larger cities and for some typical small cities, villages, towns, and counties, the most essential thing would be accomplished. If some well-known organization, like the National Municipal League or one of the great universities, should undertake such a work, many city governments could probably be induced to co-operate. With suitable blanks furnished, the work of recasting the figures of the city's reports or accounts into the desired form might be done gratis by the city.

It would appear that Mr. Clow, in 1896, suggested (1) that the National Municipal League should devise a scheme for securing better reports of municipal financial operations and (2) the most characteristic features of the schedules which have been recommended in the reports of this committee, beginning with the first report in 1901.

At the meeting of the National Municipal League held in Baltimore, in 1896, Mr. Frederick W. Holls, in a paper on "State Boards of Municipal Control," noted: (1) That

Mr. Holls'
Article.

in 1895 the Governor of New York appointed two commissions to formulate a uniform charter for cities of the second and third classes, and to

report other legislation to improve the government of such cities; (2) that the two commissions had reported different forms of charter, but (3) had united in recommending the creation by law of a "State municipal government board" authorized to prescribe uniform methods of bookkeeping and of keeping statistics and a form of report for every municipal department; (4) and that the Legislature of 1896 had failed even to debate any of the bills proposed by the two commissions.

The League of American Municipalities, at its convention held in Detroit in August, 1898, passed a series of resolutions strongly recommending legislation to secure a uniform system of accounting in cities. In December, 1898, at the meeting of the National League of American Municipalities, a preliminary draft of a model municipal corporations act, presented by a special committee of the League, was discussed at length. It was provided in Article II, Section 15, under the head of "City Accounts" that "every city shall keep books of account and make stated financial reports at least as often as once a year to the (State Comptroller or other fiscal officer), in accordance with forms and methods prescribed by him which shall be applicable to all cities within the State . . . such reports shall be printed as a part of the public documents of the State, etc." The same provision is found in the municipal corporations act and the constitutional amendments of the Municipal Program which were adopted by the National Municipal League at its meeting in Columbus, Ohio, in 1899, at which meeting no less than five papers relating to municipal accounting were read. These papers are to be found in the published proceedings of the Columbus meeting of the League. Among them the paper of Professor L. S. Rowe, of the University of Pennsylvania, on "Public Accounting Under the Proposed Municipal Program," is worthy of special mention, for the reason that it contained an "Outline for a summarized statement of receipts and expenditures," many of whose features have since been adopted by expert accountants and city comptrollers as the basis for improved forms of report, on the recommendation of this com-

mittee. The backbone of the forms adopted by the State Auditor of Ohio, under the act of 1902, is derived from Dr. Rowe's "Outline" of 1899.

In October, 1898, Mr. August Hermann, of Cincinnati, in his presidential address on "Rates of Taxation in the Larger Cities of the United States," before the American Society of Municipal Improvements, pointed out the need of a uniform system of municipal accounts. In July of the same year the United States Department of Labor was authorized by Act of Congress "to compile and publish annually an abstract of the main features of the official statistics of the cities of the United States having over 30,000 inhabitants." The department has published tables entitled "Statistics of Cities" which relate chiefly to receipts, expenditures, and debt, for the years 1898, 1899, 1900 and 1901, respectively. The preparation of "Statistics of Cities," which has been taken over recently by the permanent Census Bureau of the United States, is proceeding on lines traceable to the inquiries begun by the Department of Labor five years ago.

In 1900, at the Milwaukee meeting of the National Municipal League, three papers on Uniform Municipal Accounting were presented, and it was reported that a dozen national associations had appointed committees to consider the matter or proposed to appoint such committees. The League authorized the appointment of a special committee "to consider the subject of municipal accounts and statistics; to confer with similar committees representing other organizations; to prepare and report such methods or systems of municipal accounting and collection of municipal statistics as might seem most desirable to it."

The National Municipal League's Committee on "Uniform Municipal Accounting and Statistics" was appointed early in 1901, and has been a working committee ever since.

In general terms the work of the committee may be summarized as follows: (1) The committee has made three reports, namely, in 1901, 1902, and 1903, in which definite forms of

schedules for summarizing receipts, expenditures, debt, liabilities and assets of cities are set forth and recommended for trial; (2) through certain of its members, notably Messrs. Haskins, Chase, and Ford, the committee has been instrumental in suggesting and in some instances in securing the adoption of improved methods of bookkeeping and improved forms of reporting municipal financial operations; (3) the committee's schedules have been put to the test of actual use by a number of comptrollers and auditors, who have published reports in accordance with the forms recommended by the committee; and (4) the discussion of the whole subject has been promoted by the success of the committee in inducing a considerable number of persons to prepare papers which have been presented at the last three annual meetings of the League. The published proceedings of the National Municipal League in the period 1901-1903 contains the reports referred to, besides ten papers relating to one phase or another of the subject of city accounts and reports.

The following is a list of published reports and studies in which one or more schedules peculiar to the

Use of the	Uniform System of the National Municipal
League's	League have been used in stating or restating
Schedules.	financial data found in actual reports of city officials.

1. Baltimore, Report of the City Comptroller, (a) for the fiscal year 1901, (b) for the fiscal year 1902.

2. Boston, (a) Monthly Bulletin of the Statistics Department, Vol. IV, No. 6, Receipts and Expenditures of the City of Boston and the County of Suffolk for the fiscal year 1900-01; (b) Ibid., Vol. V, No. 7, Receipts and Expenditures of the City of Boston and County of Suffolk from the fiscal year 1902-03, with Comparative Summaries for the fiscal years 1900-01 and 1901-02; (c) Receipts, Appropriations and Expenditures of the City of Boston for the fiscal year ending January 31, 1902, in Appendix of Report by Harvey S. Chase to the Mayor of Boston on May 8, 1902.

3. Brookline (Massachusetts) Report of Expert Accountant (Harvey S. Chase) appointed by the Selectmen to examine the accounts of the town of Brookline, 1901-02.

4. Cambridge, Report of the City Auditor, showing Receipts and Expenditures for the year ending November 30, 1902.

5. Chicago, Comptroller's Forty-sixth Annual Report, year ended December 31, 1902.

6. Newton (Massachusetts) Report of City Auditor for the year ending December 31, 1900. See Appendix arranged by Harvey S. Chase.

7. New York, Report to the Commissioner of Accounts by Worthington C. Ford and Frederick B. De Berard, on Defects of the Financial Statements of the City of New York, with suggestions for Improved Forms, 1903.

The Uniform System of the National Municipal League is not a system of accounting. As a committee we have not attempted to elaborate a system of bookkeeping to supplant existing systems that are objectionable or inadequate, but rather to devise a practicable, generalized scheme for summarizing the accounts of any city, whatever its system of bookkeeping may be, in the form of "a model comptroller's report," so to speak. Recognizing the great diversity of functions performed by departments bearing the same name and the heterogeneous and misleading character of American municipal reports, as a class, the policy of our committee has been one of cautious experiment. Our schedules have not yet reached their final form. Though we have increased their number, the schedules we have recommended for trial have been avowedly tentative and necessarily elastic in their nature. Moreover, we have always sought to have them put to the test of actual use. As I have just indicated, they have been so tested, in one form or another, in summarizing the annual reports of a considerable number of dissimilar cities. In Ohio their practicability will be tested by a still larger number of cities organized alike under a uniform municipal code.

Two features which were emphasized in Mr. Clow's article and in Professor Rowe's "Outline" presented to the League at Columbus in 1899, constitute the most characteristic features of the schedules of the Uniform System of the National Municipal League. They are (1) the division of receipts and expenditures into

**Characteristic
Features.**

two classes, viz: ordinary and extraordinary, and (2) the "group-feature," *i. e.*, the grouping of receipts and expenditures of the several departments under certain general heads, *e. g.*, general government, public safety, public works, etc., according to the functions subserved by the departments grouped under such heads. I may add that the Statistics Department of Boston in its various publications relating to the financial statistics of the city, has since its establishment in 1897 uniformly set forth receipts and expenditures under the four heads of ordinary, extraordinary, trust funds, and bookkeeping items (temporary accounts); that it proposed a group-system in its first report in 1898, after conference with Dr. Rowe, whose "Outline" was not published till a year later; and that in certain of its publications it has employed a group-system of its own, *e. g.*, "Special Publication No. 5, Actual Receipts and Expenditures of Boston for the Thirty Years 1870-1899."

The efforts of the Department of Labor in the period 1898-1902, and the present investigation of the United States Census

	Bureau touching the wealth, debt, and taxation
Census	of cities, without directly suggesting new or
Bureau.	improved forms of accounting, must inevitably
	lead to the improvements in municipal book-

keeping and the form of financial reports. The reiterated demands of the Census Bureau for information to serve as the basis of comparison of all cities having over 30,000 inhabitants will lead city accountants and city auditors in sheer self-defence to the adoption of better methods, and the thanks and approval which such action will evoke from their fellow-citizens, the plain men who want plain statements and the officials who desire to give the people the worth of their taxes, and the large and constantly increasing class of students of municipal problems and affairs will convince them that their well-doing is appreciated and stimulate them to continue therein.

To recapitulate, the movement for securing reasonable uniformity in municipal accounts was quickened, if not engendered, by the earlier movement which led to the enactment of the Minnesota law providing for the central control of county accounts twenty-five years ago. Interest in the whole question of public

accounts and statistics (more particularly those which relate to cities) has been intensified as well as extended through the discussions and recommendations of the numerous national associations that have come into being within the last dozen years, *e. g.*, the League of American Municipalities, the American Society of Municipal Improvements, and the National Municipal League. The stage of criticism and vague suggestion has run its course, and has given place within the last three years to the stage of definite plans, patient investigation and well-ordered experiment. In the light of past achievements and of present undertakings we may well anticipate a wider and clearer apprehension of the situation by the general public on the one hand, and on the other hand by city officials, expert accountants and other special students of municipal affairs, whose aid has been enlisted in the campaign for securing a reasonable uniformity in municipal accounts and statistics. That campaign has already yielded important practical results. We may reasonably anticipate still larger results in the future, by reason of the interest which the investigations and reports of the United States Census Bureau are certain to evoke, and in consequence of the active measures taken within the last year to introduce improved systems of accounting and of making financial reports in several important cities, *e. g.*, St. Louis, Minneapolis, and Denver, as well as in all cities of the second and third classes in the State of New York.

The movement whose growth and development have been sketched in this paper has derived much of its significance and force from the wider movement of which it forms a part, *viz*: the movement for making the government of American cities honest, intelligent and efficient. The officers of the National Municipal League may well be congratulated upon the honorable and influential part they have played in promoting the progress of both the larger and the lesser movements, and be encouraged to persevere in their efforts to develop a higher type of civic patriotism throughout the land.

What Constitutes Reasonable Uniformity in Municipal Accounts and Reports

By Professor FREDERICK A. CLEVELAND

University of New York

The primary purpose of political organization is Government—the establishment of social order. In democratic society this is accomplished through the creation of a public corporation. A corporate public agent being organized and equipped to maintain social order, its machinery is then utilized to render such other service as the members of the community, in their several private capacities, cannot with equal advantage perform for themselves.

The administrative functions undertaken by municipal corporations are of three general classes, viz.: (1) Those exercised in the interest of established order and social necessity; (2) those which pertain to social betterment or social elevation; and (3) those which have to do with social economy. Welfare, therefore, as comprehended within the meaning of modern municipal citizenship, and as conserved by municipal administration, must include all of these institutional purposes and activities.

A corporation is a lifeless, bloodless, legal fiction. It is a person of sovereign powers—without the ability, however, to exercise these powers except through living human agents. But these living corporate agents are impotent to exercise powers not granted; and again, they are unable to perform the functions granted or assigned to the corporation, except by means of the physical equipment suited to the accomplishment of the corporate ends.

It is in this situation that the advantage of corporate poli-

tical organization lies. The *political powers* of government, (those which pertain to the form of corporate organization, and to the exercise of other electoral functions) are retained within the direct or indirect control of the people whose welfare the corporation is to serve; the active *administration* of the affairs of the corporation is left to agents thus selected or appointed with authority to direct its functions and to enforce its rights.

To become effective as a public corporation, the service of a municipality (i. e., the living agents into whose hands the corporate powers and physical equipment are placed) must be organized around the functions undertaken. And the community interests of one politically organized legal society being similar to the community interests of another, the functions to be performed by the corporation organized to serve these interests are similar; for the same reason the structural and legal form of municipal Governments bear a close resemblance.

Common provisions for the exercise of *political functions* are found in constitutional and legal enactments for "the election and appointment of officers." Common provisions for the exercise of *administrative functions* are found in the creation of departments and bureaus. Distributing the various political offices and the several bureaus and departments of corporate activity in such manner that they may be exhibited in relations to these common functions exercised, an outline classification would appear as follows:

I. GENERAL ORGANIZATION:

1. *For Elections and Appointments.*
2. *For General Officers and Offices.*
 - (1) Mayor.
 - (2) Council.
 - (3) Municipal Courts.
 - (4) Law Officers.
 - (5) Finance Officers.
 - (6) City Hall and general officers.
 - (7) Department of public supplies.
 - (8) Public printing.
 - (9) Miscellaneous.

II. DEPARTMENTAL ORGANIZATION:

1. *For the maintenance of Order and Necessity.*

(1) Protection of life, health and property.

- (1) Police department.
- (2) Fire department.
- (3) Fire and police telegraph.
- (4) Public pounds.
- (5) Health department.
- (6) Insane hospital.
- (7) Cemeteries and crematories.
- (8) Bureau of inspection.
- (9) Militia and armories.
- (10) Miscellaneous.

(2) Public charities and corrections.

- (1) Homes for the aged.
- (2) Orphan homes.
- (3) Institutions for defective youths.
- (4) Public lodging houses.
- (5) Outdoor relief.
- (6) Prisons and reformatories.
- (7) Work houses.
- (8) Miscellaneous.

(3) Public highways and sewers.

- (1) General organization.
- (2) Opening and grading of streets.
- (3) Maintenance and repairs of streets.
- (4) Maintenance and repairs of sidewalks.
- (5) Street lighting.
- (6) Street cleaning.
- (7) Snow removal.
- (8) Street sprinkling.
- (9) Refuse collection and disposal.
- (10) Sewers and sewage disposal.
- (11) Miscellaneous.

2. *For Social Betterment.*

(1) Public Education.

- (1) Elementary schools.
 - (a) Kindergartens.
 - (b) Grade schools.
 - (c) Trade schools.
 - (d) Special courses of elementary instruction.
- (2) Schools of higher instruction.
 - (a) High schools.
 - (b) Training schools.
 - (c) City colleges.

MUNICIPAL ACCOUNTS AND REPORTS.

- (3) Miscellaneous.
 - (a) Free lectures.
 - (b) Other educational services.
- (2) Public libraries, art galleries, and museums.
 - (1) Public libraries.
 - (2) Public art galleries.
 - (3) Public museums.
 - (4) Other.
- (3) Public recreation.
 - (1) Public parks.
 - (2) Public playgrounds and gymnasium.
 - (3) Public baths.
 - (4) Public celebrations.
 - (5) Miscellaneous.
- 3. *For Social Economy.*
 - (1) Municipal Industries.
 - (1) Water works.
 - (2) Gas works.
 - (3) Electric light plants.
 - (4) Municipal heating.
 - (5) Street railways.
 - (6) Municipal subways.
 - (7) Municipal conduits.
 - (8) Municipal markets.
 - (9) Miscellaneous.
 - (2) Municipal Investments.
 - (1) Real estate.
 - (2) Stocks and bonds.
 - (3) Other investments.

In none of the cities do we have all of the departments of service above shown; but, in all of them in so far as the service is organized, the relations indicated are present. From the point of view of functions undertaken and of organic provisions made to perform these functions, therefore, a common basis for classification is found with which all the data pertaining to either the political or administrative activities must be associated.

The form and classification of accounts are necessarily determined by the form of organization. Municipal administration is largely a matter of business. In a free society the service employed by a public corporation must be voluntary and, there-

fore, a subject of contract—i. e., one of offer and acceptance. In most of its aspects the exercise of administrative powers rests on bargain and sale, while even in its political and governing functions the corporation must have financial support. The character and efficiency of administration must

Uniformity of in large measure depend on the character of
Classification. business judgment exercised by those in administrative control; in an institution having such variety of transactions and such complexity of organization (one whose business in the aggregate mounts to many thousands or even millions of dollars) the exercise of sound official discretion depends on a system of financial account and statistical report which will not only record each transaction in its proper administrative relation, but which will also reflect, in properly classified summaries, the net administrative results.

Municipal accounting has been defined as a method employed by a city for the purpose of recording its business transactions, and finally co-ordinating these data around problems of administration. A system of accounts employed by a city, if true to this purpose must, like the administrative service itself, take its form and character from the form and character of corporate functions exercised. The same is true of statistical reports. As a principle of uniform classification in municipal accounts and reports, this is not stated as a possibility but as an administrative necessity. Such uniformity as is found in the functions undertaken by the various municipalities, and such as is reflected in common forms of organization, require that the general categories for the final summaries of account and statistical report in one city be similar to those of another. This is the assumption which lies at the foundation of the work of the Committee of Uniform Municipal Accounts and Statistics of the National Municipal League.

Proceeding from this assumption, the Committee of the League on uniform municipal accounts and statistics has till recently turned its energies entirely toward the

Schedules of discovery of those functions and forms of organi-
the Committee. zation that are common to municipalities. For guidance they have gone to the charters and

organic laws; they have also availed themselves of the results of research of political scientists, and of the experience of professional accountants and officers of municipal control. Each result has thus been brought to a critical test. So useful were the schedules of classification thus formulated, that, from the date of their first publication, they have been utilized by cities attempting to restate their reports. In fact, the progress of the work of the Committee may be traced in the new classification from time to time adopted by municipalities. To-day there are no less than eighty cities whose financial statements bear the stamp of the work of the League; and the United States Census officers have made use of them in the collection and classification of municipal statistics. At the last conference of the League it was thought the success of this part of the work of the Committee warranted an enlargement of the scope of their labor. The Committee was therefore continued and instructed to report in outline a complete system of municipal accounts and reports.

It is to be held in mind that to this time no attempt had been made by the Committee to apply its classification to any part of the accounts of a city, nor to any part of a municipal report except to "Receipts" and "Disbursements." And the use that has been made of the schedules by the cities themselves has largely been of the same sort. Till the time of the last annual conference of the League only three cities had adopted complete systems of accounts, to which any attempt was made to apply the classification of the League, and two of these systems were then in process of installation. The City of Chicago was the only city having such a system of accounts that had made a report, and in this (the Comptroller's report for 1902) the application made of the schedules had been to Revenues and Expenses of the City, instead of the transactions of the Treasury (i. e., to Receipts and Disbursements). The "larger work" to be undertaken by the Committee, therefore, as before, was in the nature of pioneering.

To answer the specification of "completeness" the Committee must outline a plan by which all of the transactions per-

The Larger Work of the Committee. taining to municipal activity may be classified—
i. e., it must not only include the transactions of the Treasury and mark the flow of cash, but it must also take into account the transactions and the properties pertaining to every other department and municipal relation. The success of the Committee in introducing a "uniform" system must depend on the adoption of a classification of detailed accounts from which the central controlling officers may bring the work of the bureaus and departments into relation with the common problems of municipal administration, and which in turn might be used as a basis for financial report. To accomplish such a task, to devise schedules which may be acceptable and serve as a basis for uniform accounting, will require years of continuous effort and must reflect the technical knowledge and experience of a large community in interest. The service which the Committee hopes to render is one of bringing this knowledge and experience together and of expressing it in intelligible form.

The initial work of the Committee was to obtain a formulation which might serve as a working hypothesis for discussion and by means of which this experience might be drawn out in conference. The scope of the Committee's investigation was to include the physical and operative statistics of cities, as well as their financial accounts and reports. At the first meeting held, the first draft of that part of the program which pertained to statistics was assigned to the chairman (Dr. Hartwell, head of the Statistical Department of the City of Boston) and the preliminary draft of the outline of Accounts and Financial Reports was assigned to the Secretary.

The application of schedules of uniform classification to a complete system of accounts and finally the evolution and statement of principles of uniformity, requires that we first ascertain the categories of classification common to municipal accounting. Accounts being devised as an aid to clear thinking about the affairs of a city, the discernible uniformity that may exist must have reference to the elements of common interest in administration.

As before suggested, we have to deal with a corporation—a

legal entity with sovereign powers and proprietary rights, the purpose of whose creation is to render service to the community, but which can exercise powers only through officers and agents equipped with the physical means necessary to make them effective. This corporation, therefore, so far as its business is concerned, has two distinct relations, the one being with respect to its own proprietorship, (its assets and its liabilities), the other being the business aspect of its operations, (the corporate income and expenses).

Reflecting these two relations there have grown up two distinct systems of account, either of which may be used, and either of which may be complete. The most primitive of these is what is known as a single-entry system; it attempts to exhibit in form of final statement one relation only—that of asset and liability. That is, in a single-entry system of account, its final summaries are set up in what is known as a balance-sheet, or an exhibit of present proprietary conditions; in its final statement it attempts to give an instantaneous photograph of the cities' properties and financial obligations. The other, known as the double-entry system, attempts not only to state relations of asset and liability, but also to give a classified summary of operations. In this a financial biography is given of the fiscal period as an instantaneous photograph of conditions at its close. Before we attempt to outline a scheme of uniformity of accounting, therefore, it is necessary to decide as to which of these two systems of account will be used. And this in turn must again be decided by appeal to corporate purposes.

What are the administrative interests common to municipalities? Are statements reflecting corporate conditions in terms of asset and liability, sufficient? What are the problems about which both electors and responsible municipal officers must exercise discretion? Generally speaking, there are two classes of administrative problems pertaining to the management of every public corporation: (1) The citizen, in his judgment of the administration, and the controlling officer, in the performance of his

duty, wish to know whether or not the corporation, as an agent of general welfare, has rendered the best service of which it is capable at the least cost; (2) and, as a corporation it being necessary to own properties and intrust its funds and equipment to its officers and agents, all parties in interest desire to know whether or not this proprietorship has been protected against misuse and infidelity of officers. To supply the data essential to intelligent judgment, therefore, a complete double-entry system of accounts is necessary.

From this we may proceed to a consideration of the essentials common to a double-entry system. Accounts being a method of collecting, classifying and co-ordinating business data, we look to the adequacy of means. A complete system of accounts would require that every transaction be recorded. This should be done by the person in charge if possible, at least by the bureau or department in which the transaction arises. A chronological record of events kept in each department, however, could be of little use to anyone. To utilize this record and to adapt it to the purposes of control, the various transactions must be classified, and having been classified they must then be brought into statements of final account in a central office. Both the "original entry" and the first "classification" must take place in the department. From this the classified result is reported to the central office—the items contained in this classified report must be "posted" to the central or controlling accounts. The classification of "controlling accounts" therefore must determine the classification of the "detailed account" of transactions in the departments.

We now come to the classification of the "controlling accounts." These being organized around the two general administrative categories, (viz.: "municipal economy" and "municipal proprietorship"); within these two general categories there are also some common interests which require uniformity in statement. The relations of economy are determined, (1) by comparison of expenses with income provided and (2) by comparison of expenses with the statistics of service performed. This not only introduces us into the categories of expense and income, but also into the other branch of the Committee's investigation, viz., physical and operative statistics.

Confining ourselves to the accounting side of the problem, all cities derive their income for the support of Government from about the same sources, viz: from taxes, licenses, and miscellaneous fees of departments, etc.

Common Classification of Income and Expenses. Organizing accounts of income accruing for the use of a city during a fiscal period according to sources, we have a common basis for the classification of revenues. Statements of taxes are taken from the tax levies; licenses may be taken from license registers; and the miscellaneous fees, etc., are reported from the several bureaus and departments. For the statement of miscellaneous revenues, the schedules of the League would form a common basis for classification. The expenses are also recorded in the office of the Comptroller in the form of expense vouchers, etc., or are reported from the department. Here again the schedules of the League, based on administrative relations common to municipalities, may serve as a guide; and such a classification would be of the highest utility—it may be said is absolutely necessary to getting at relations of economy of administration when reduced to cost of units of service by comparison with the operative statistics.

One of the most important proprietary relations of a public corporation, and one which involves a problem most serious to the officer as well as the citizen, is that of ability of the Government to meet its maturing obligations. A proper accounting of this relation requires a classification of assets and liabilities in such manner that the properties intended as equipment, or for continued use in the business, may be segregated and set apart from assets to which the city may look as a means of payment. Quite as important also is a classification of liabilities in such manner that the current or maturing liabilities may be distinguished from those long-time obligations that are not a current charge. These relations having been set up, judgment as to the ability of the Government to meet its maturing obligations requires that the current liabilities be compared with the assets available to meet them. The classification of the current asset and liability

accounts should be similar in the accounts of cities for the reason that the assets are derived from similar sources, and the contractual and legal liabilities are similar in kind. If such comparisons are to be made, therefore, there must be uniformity in the general controlling accounts of current asset and liability.

The long-time liabilities are usually incurred for purposes of equipment or permanent improvement. The general classification of equipment used by the cities being the same, uniformity in the controlling accounts of both bonded debt, and of the permanent asset accounts follows—and in the schedules of the League may be found a common outline as well as a common nomenclature. In conclusion it may be said that whatever be the difference in forms of records used for "original entries" of transactions in the various bureaus and departments, common administrative interests and purposes of control would suggest a common classification of the general controlling accounts of municipalities—not primarily as a means of bringing the records of one city into comparison with those of another, but as an essential to enlightened conduct of its own affairs.

We turn now to the accounts of special officers and departments, in which the prime purpose is to insure official fidelity.

Departmental Accounts Showing Relations of Fidelity.	Aside from the fact that a department record is an integral part of a general system and for this reason the truth of departmental records is essential to intelligent controlling summaries, the officer entrusted with properties or funds must also render an account of his stewardship.
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One of the most important of these departmental records reflecting relations of fidelity is that kept of the municipal treasury. So far as the general asset and liability statement is concerned, no return is needed except that of "balances on hand;" to this end no classification is necessary except that the "current cash" be returned separate from the "cash obtained from bond sales for permanent improvements," etc. But from the point of view of official fidelity, a statement of "receipts" and "disbursements" should be made which will reflect the transactions pertaining to and the final condition of each fund kept.

In this I am somewhat at variance with those who have

attempted to use the cash book as the central record of municipal account and even with the use that has been made of the schedules of the League in many cities; in some of these, receipts and disbursements are reported according to a classification of revenues and expenses, irrespective of Treasury funds created.

For administrative purposes money received should be shown by the Treasurer in his report according to the sources from which these receipts have been derived.

Classification of Cash Receipts. Money is not revenue. Money is an asset. It may be derived from "taxes receivable" or "accounts receivable" or from "judgments receivable;" from sales of bonds or other "credit contracts payable," or from the sales of properties. The receipt usually has a direct relation to an asset or liability account. The Treasurer, therefore, in his classification of receipts and for the purposes of making his report, should have direct reference to the sources from which the money came. The common sources of money receipt is the common basis for the one side or the Treasurer's report.

When money is received, it is entered directly to the credit of a fund to which that particular class of receipt has been apportioned, or it goes into the general fund of the Treasury, from which appropriations are made.

Classification of Disbursements. The books of a treasury should be kept with respect to the funds created and the disbursements from each particular fund should be separately stated. These funds are created by appropriation. There is absolutely nothing gained by trying to show on the books of the Treasury the purpose for which a payment is made. This summary is made on the books of the Comptroller in entering up the warrants and vouchers to the "expense" account, or "asset" or "liability" accounts affected. The Treasurer knows nothing about "expenses" "assets" and "liabilities." He knows only "money," "money" funds appropriated, and the order or warrant of a duly qualified officer for the payment of "money." The common basis for uniformity in classification of disbursements will be found, therefore, in the similarity of funds carried as a result of municipal appropriation.

Such may be stated as the common principles which lie at the foundation of any system devised which we, as a committee, may hope to have adopted by municipalities.

Conclusion. Such uniformity as may come into the accounts of cities must come for the same reason that there is uniformity in the human anatomy, or in the conclusions reached by the human mind when reasoning from common premises assumed—it must come as a result of the device adopted being adapted to the purposes and ends of municipal organization and administration.

Looking on the problem that confronts the Committee, and recognizing that the character of the accounts must be governed by the Comptrolling purpose, it was thought that

The Form of the first classification concerning which agree-
Comptroller's ment should be reached is that which pertains
Report. to the central or controlling accounts. But
since the purpose of the controlling accounts is that of obtaining summaries of results which are needed by citizens and officers in responsible positions, it is esteemed that consideration of the form of statement of the Comptroller's report should be first obtained. To this end such a tentative draft has been submitted to the Committee for further consideration and deliberation on its part.

Practical Application of the Schedules for Uniform Municipal Reports and Accounts

By **HARVEY S. CHASE, Boston**
Public Accountant and Auditor

"Practical Application of the National Municipal League Schedules" can, perhaps, be set forth better than in any other way, so far as the writer is concerned, by a description of the actual applications to practice in a number of the cities of the country in connection with which he has had more or less experience, particularly in regard to the difficulties which must be met and the obstacles which must be overcome in the process of rearranging the methods of municipal reports or the re-organization of systems of municipal accounts.

The first meeting of the committee upon uniform municipal accounts and statistics was held at the City Club, in New York, on April 18th, 1901. This meeting was attended by Mr. Richardson, of Philadelphia; Dr. Hartwell, of Boston; Prof. Bemis, of Cleveland; Dr. Maltbie, of New York; Mr. Baker, of New York; and the writer.

After organization was effected the schedules published in Prof. Rowe's paper in the "Municipal Program," were discussed, and certain modifications of these schedules were decided upon as a starting point. The general divisions of municipal functions proposed in the program were as follows:—

- I. General Government.
- II. Taxation.
- III. Public Safety.
- IV. Public Charity.
- V. Public Convenience.
- VI. Public Industries.

VII. Public Education and Allied Subjects.

VIII. Public Trust Funds.

IX. Public Indebtedness.

Then follows "book accounts."

The modifications of this arrangement as tentatively agreed upon, and later elaborated in the City of Newton report, were as follows:—

I. General Government, with eight sub-heads.

II. Protection of Life, Health, and Property, with nine sub-heads.

III. Public Charity, with seven sub-heads.

IV. Public Works, with twelve sub-heads.

V. Public Industries, with nine sub-heads.

VI. Public Education, Recreation and Art, with seven sub-heads.

VII. Public Trust Funds.

VIII. Miscellaneous.

IX. Taxation, with eight sub-heads.

X. Public Indebtedness.

Also a general division called "book accounts," with three sub-heads.

This re-arrangement of the titles of the schedules was provisionally settled only after much discussion during sessions of the committee which continued for two days.

Titles in the Schedules. During these discussions it became evident that the only satisfactory way to test the schedules would be to apply them in practice to some city's annual report, a city of moderate size being preferable for a beginning.

The city of Newton, Mass., in which the writer resides, has a population of about 35,000, and is an enterprising and progressive municipality. It was suggested that the City Auditor's report of Newton would form an excellent subject for an analysis of the municipal disbursements during the fiscal year 1900, according to the distribution set forth in the schedules proposed by the committee, and on returning to Boston the writer immediately took steps to have such an application made.

A petition was put in circulation praying the City Council of Newton, which consists of one chamber, to authorize the addition of an appendix to the city auditor's report for the fiscal year ending December 31st, 1900. This appendix, as the petition explained, was intended to contain the financial transactions of the city for the year, arranged upon the "uniform" schedules of the National Municipal League.

The signatures of many influential men, ex-mayors, congressional representatives, etc., were obtained for this petition, and it was referred to the finance committee by the Board of

Newton Report.	Aldermen. The finance committee gave a hearing, reported favorably and the appendix was authorized. Meanwhile, as the accounts of 1900 were not then completed, the printed report for the previous year, 1899, was taken and the items therein analyzed, verified and carefully re-distributed upon blank forms prepared according to the League's schedules. This was a work of considerable difficulty, there being no precedents to guide us, as no other city's accounts had ever been similarly arranged. The distribution of the accounts in the regular Newton report was, however, an excellent one in many respects, and the re-distribution for 1899 was accomplished with reasonable promptness, so that we soon had the complete transactions for one year verified, analyzed, distributed and balanced correctly.
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We then took the figures for the annual report of the year just ended, 1900, which were in manuscript, and introduced these on similar blank forms as rapidly as they were submitted to us, so that the new schedules were completed and ready for the printer at the same time as the regular official report.

We supervised the publication of the report, accepting responsibility for the accuracy of the figures and the correct distribution of them.

When the report was printed and circulated a very considerable demand for it sprang up, so that in a short time the edition was exhausted.

The League's committee could now point to a practical application of the schedules to a city's report, and this counted for much in the subsequent development of the movement.

At the meeting of the League in Rochester, N. Y., on May 11, 1901, copies of the Newton report were distributed and Mr. James H. Johnson, the City Controller of Rochester, who had explained the system of accounting carried on under his direction, volunteered to append to his next annual report a similar summary of receipts and expenditures. This re-distribution did not appear during Mr. Johnson's term of office, but the Rochester report will hereafter be published according to the League's forms, as explained later on.

The City Comptroller of Baltimore, having received copies of the Newton report, decided to issue a similar appendix for his own annual report, and did so, following the arrangement of the Newton schedules, and using the same type, etc. After this application the comptroller, Mr. James H. Smith, strongly endorsed the uniform system of distribution and in an address before the League of American Municipalities, advised all city comptrollers and auditors to examine the schedules and to apply them to their respective city reports.

During this period agitation had been going on for some time in Chicago in regard to the condition of the special assessments accounts of that city and to the general system of book-keeping. Correspondence had also been held by various members of the League's committee with citizens of Chicago who were taking the initiative in this movement.

Meanwhile additions had been made to the membership of our committee, including a prominent public accountant of New York, whose firm later undertook contracts with the City of Chicago on both the subjects mentioned.

In consultation with the writer and under the stimulus of the definite applications in Newton and Baltimore, it was decided to apply the League's schedules to the accounting system and the fiscal reports of Chicago, if it were possible to do so under the requirements of law in that city.

The first thing necessary, therefore, was a thorough study of the laws of the State of Illinois as they applied to the finances and accounting of the City of Chicago; and next a very thorough

investigation of the actual conditions of the city's accounts. Four months of the most laborious preliminary work was done in these examinations of the statutes and ordinances and of the accounts and the general conditions in the departments.

The method adopted was similar to that used at Newton, a controller's report for the year previous to the current year being taken as a basis, and this was analyzed and re-distributed item by item upon the forms drawn up in accordance with the league's schedules. This operation was an exceedingly difficult and laborious one, as we were met at every turn by special requirements of law which appeared to make it impractical to apply any schedules of a general and uniform nature. It appeared frequently as if Chicago must be left outside the pale, so far as uniformity of accounts was concerned, until the time arrived when very marked changes could be brought about in the statutes of the state, as well as in the ordinances of the city. So much of the uniform schedules as could be applied under the requirements of the then present laws, was arranged for by the accounting firm, and these schedules were set forth in the controller's report which was published a year later. The difficulties and obstacles to bringing about uniformity in the accounts of any large city, particularly of Chicago, are so seemingly endless that it might well take a volume of the size of the League's Proceedings to give a reasonable account of them.

The work at Chicago, as completed by the firm of accountants already referred to, was an immensely greater piece of work than anything which had preceded it. This work included a comprehensive and complete accounting system, whereas the preceding applications had to do only with the fiscal reports.

It is unnecessary to go into the details of the Chicago forms and methods here, as this has been ably done already at previous conferences of this League.

After the return of the writer from the preliminary work at Chicago, in December, 1901, an examination of the municipal accounts was ordered by the Selectmen of Brookline. This led to a report advising the adoption of the League's system of distribution for the annual fiscal statement of the town, which was accepted and the report of

Brookline

the year 1901 was revised and published on the "uniform" lines. There was a considerable demand for this report, and similarly to the Newton report, it was soon out of print.

Brookline is the largest municipality in Massachusetts under town government, and is probably the wealthiest community of its size in the country, and the accounting system in many of its departments has been for many years a model for other municipalities in New England to follow. It was therefore quite an important matter in the development of the practical application of the League's schedules to have Brookline accept them and publish them.

The chairman of our committee, who is the head of the Statistics Department of the City of Boston, has naturally been greatly interested in applying the league's schedules to the statistical reports issued by his department, and has published three or more reports setting forth the fiscal transactions of Boston arranged upon the "uniform" schedules.

It must always be remembered that up to the time we are now considering, and in fact up to the present day, the committee of the League has not attempted to rigidly determine the schedules in all their details. On the contrary each new application to practice has opened new points of view, and has made it evident that modifications of the forms should be made, or at least should be considered.

This was true of Newton and Brookline, and particularly true of Chicago and Boston. In addition to the application of the schedules to Boston's accounts by the chairman of this committee, the writer made a separate application in a report to the Mayor of Boston, on May 8th, 1902. The method followed was the same as at Newton. The Auditor's published report for the previous year was analyzed, re-distributed and set up on blank forms of "uniform" schedules and then verified, totaled and balanced. Preceding summary statements were also introduced in accordance with the lines laid down in Chicago, as an advance on Newton and Baltimore.

The results of the work in Boston were evident soon after, when the most extensive application of the principles of

uniform municipal reports and accounts was undertaken in Ohio.

In May, 1902, a bill establishing a "Bureau of Inspection and Supervision of Public Offices," was enacted into law by the legislature of Ohio. This bill, which is now historic and is familiar to most of you, was the result of the persistent efforts of Mr. Allen Ripley Foote, Editor of *Public Policy*, associated with the County Auditors' Association and other influential bodies in the State of Ohio.

Soon after the passage of this bill the Supreme Court of Ohio handed down a momentous decision in a test case which declared, practically, that no city in the State of Ohio had at that time a constitutional charter.

In order to prevent the chaos in municipal governments which the promulgation of such a decision would bring about, the Court delayed the application of its order until the following September, thus allowing opportunity for a special session of the legislature to be called by the governor and a new municipal code to be enacted, which should apply to all cities in Ohio alike.

This code, while a very serious matter for the cities and their governments, was a most happy event for the successful application of uniform accounts and reports throughout the State. Without it the Bureau of Inspection would have found itself involved in an interminable tangle of conflicting charters, special laws, peculiar interpretations, etc., which now were wholly done away with by the Supreme Court's decision, and by the new uniform code of municipal law.

The Auditor of the State of Ohio, who is chief of the Bureau of Inspection and Supervision, determined to establish the new accounting system upon the League's lines if possible, and called the writer into consultation.

The details of this application in Ohio have been set forth in previous addresses at our conferences and elsewhere, and need not be repeated here, further than to state that the first requisite in Ohio as in Chicago, was a thorough and complete study of the law, viz., the old charters of the cities, the new code, the Uniform Accounting Act itself, etc.

After long continued adaptation of the league's forms to these requirements of law, the schedules as now adopted in Ohio were produced. In all important matters these forms are practically the same as the "uniform" schedules. In the "B" schedules—Balance Sheet—they are identical.

Having devised the schedules, the applications to practice were then made by visiting the cities of Ohio in succession: Columbus, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Toledo, Dayton, etc., and by taking the figures of the last fiscal year for analysis, redistribution and verification exactly as had been previously done in Newton, Chicago, Boston, etc.

A convention of the City Solicitors of the State was called at Columbus, to discuss various points in the new laws, and to determine upon methods of procedure, etc., for the purpose of promoting uniformity in the cities, and later a convention of the newly elected city auditors of the state was called for the same purpose. At the latter convention, ruled and printed sheets representing the different accounting books proposed by the bureau were distributed, together with printed instructions for their use. Each city auditor throughout the state was furnished with these sheets and instructions, and required to provide books in accordance therewith.

Meanwhile the propositions relating to city accounting were only a portion of the matters with which the Bureau of Inspection had to deal. The provisions of the uniform accounting law required the bureau to apply the principles of uniformity to counties, towns, road districts, school districts and all other civil divisions of the State, and a large portion of the time of the officials has been necessarily taken up with these matters, so that it has been impossible for the bureau to give the attention necessary for the full completion of the city schedules.

The general divisions of the Ohio schedules are as follows:—

I. General Government:

Legislative, Executive, Judicial.

II. Protection of Life, Health and Property:

Police, Fire, Health, Inspection, etc.

- III. Public Service.¹
 - a. Public Charity and Correction.
 - b. Public Ways.
 - c. Public Industries.
 - d. Public Parks, etc.
- IV. Public Education.
- V. Public Indebtedness.
- IV. Public Interest.
- VII. Public Taxation.
- VIII. Special Assessments.
- IX. Unclassified.

Then follow "Trust Funds" and "Temporary Accounts."

In the later part of 1902, the city government of Cambridge, Mass., passed a resolution which resulted in an investigation of the municipal accounts of that city by the writer, and in a re-arrangement of the City Auditor's annual report along the lines of the "uniform system."

The methods of application were much the same as those previously described herein. First, a study of the statutes and ordinances was made. Secondly, a thorough examination was had of the actual conditions in the various departments, and the methods of accounting then used. Thirdly, the outline of a system of accounts was drawn up which would comply with the law, and yet be in complete accord with the "uniform system" and, fourthly, the re-arrangement of the Auditor's report for the last fiscal year on the new lines was laid out. These various steps were taken in order, and the Auditor's report was published and circulated.

It may be interesting to compare the titles used in this report with the earlier report of Newton, in order to note the development of the committee's schedules up to that time. The general divisions in the Cambridge report were as follows:—

- I. General Government, with seven sub-heads.
- II. Protection of Life, Health and Property, with eight sub-heads.

¹ This heading is required by the establishment of the "Department of Public Service" in the municipal code.

- III. Public Charity and Correction, with nine sub-heads.
- IV. Public Ways and Wastes, with thirteen sub-heads.
- V. Public Industries and Investments, with thirteen sub-heads.
- VI. Public Education, with four sub-heads.
- VII. Public Art and Recreation, with seven sub-heads.
- VIII. Public Indebtedness, with five sub-heads.
- IX. Public Interest, with four sub-heads.
- X. Public Taxation, with nine sub-heads.
- XI. Special Assessments, with ten sub-heads.
- XII. Unclassified.

The changes in the titles of the sub-headings were also noticeable, but these would take too much space to set forth here.

Owing to discrepancies of many years' standing in the special assessments funds of Minneapolis and for other reasons, the municipal government of that city in October, 1903, published specifications for bids by public accountants to cover a new system of accounting for the various departments. The bid of an accounting firm of national reputation was accepted by the city, and the work of application to practice of the newly devised system is still going on.

In consultation with the writer this firm of accountants has applied the schedules and distributions of the National Municipal League throughout the Minneapolis accounts. This was done, as heretofore, by a thorough study of **Minneapolis.** the law, by investigations of the actual conditions and methods, and finally by the introduction of the new scheme of accounting.

No published report on the new lines has yet been issued.

The same firm of accountants have in hand a proposition for the reorganization of the accounting system of Rochester, **Rochester and** N. Y., which is also to follow the lines of the **Other Cities.** "uniform system," but as yet no report has been issued.

During the past two years the firm of accountants who reorganized the Chicago system of accounts has had in hand

similar reorganizations in various cities, notably Houston, Texas; Oklahoma City; St. Joseph, Mo., etc.

The writer is informed that the National Municipal League's schedules have been taken as the basis in all these cities, but as yet he has seen no published report from them. It is expected, however, that reports will be issued in the near future.

In November, 1903, a convention was called at Washington by the Director of the Census for the purpose of bringing together public accountants, city and state officials, and others interested in the questions relating to uniform municipal reports and accounts.

This convention held sessions for two days and evenings, appointed committees, and thoroughly discussed many important matters pertaining to the subject in hand.

At this convention copies of the Census schedules, which are returned by its agents from all cities of over thirty thousand population in the country, had been taken as the basis of these forms.

After much interesting discussion, which at times waxed warm, particularly over questions relating to municipal balance sheets, the convention adjourned subject to call
 United States by the chairman, Mr. L. G. Powers, Chief Statistician of the "Wealth, Debt and Taxation" Division of the Census.
 Census.

An Advisory Committee, of which Mr. L. E. McGann, City Comptroller of Chicago, is the chairman, will meanwhile assist the Census officials when called upon.

Early in 1903, the legislature of New York passed an act requiring the cities of the second and third classes to report annually upon uniform blanks to be furnished
 State of by the Secretary of State.
 New York.

The cities of the second and third classes in New York comprise all cities in the State except New York City and Buffalo, which are of the "first" class.

The writer, having been retained by the Secretary of State to devise the uniform blanks required by this law, drew up schedules based upon the latest forms of the League's distributions as modified at the Census convention in Washington.

These schedules comprise, therefore, the very latest forms in the development of the "uniform system." The general divisions of the forms are as follows:—

DISTRIBUTION FOR DISBURSEMENTS.

- I. General Government,
Eleven sub-heads.
- II. Public Safety (Protection of Life, Health and Property), Nine sub-heads.
- III. Public Charities and Corrections,
Nine sub-heads.
- IV. Public Highways and Sewers,
Fourteen sub-heads.
- V. Public Education,
Three sub-heads.
- VI. Public Libraries, Art Galleries, etc.,
Four sub-heads.
- VII. Public Recreation,
Four sub-heads.
- VIII. Public Industries,
Eight sub-heads.
- IX. Public Indebtedness,
Three sub-heads.
- X. Taxation,
Three sub-heads.
- XI. Special Assessments,.
- XII. Unclassified.

Then follow "Trust Funds," "Temporary Transactions," and Recapitulations.

The distribution for receipts follows mainly the arrangement of the Census returns, placing "Taxation" first, with various sub-heads, including special assessments.

Then "Licenses, Fines and Fees." Next "Interest, Apportionments, etc.," and finally "Miscellaneous Receipts," which follow exactly the distribution for disbursements, viz., General Government, Public Safety, Public Charity, etc.

In January, 1904, a newly elected charter commission began the preparation of a charter for the City of Denver, Colorado.

Members of the Denver Real Estate Exchange, who had taken considerable interest in questions relating to uniformity of accounts and reports, requested the writer to examine into the situation and recommend such provisions for **Denver and other Cities.** adoption by the charter commission as would insure the application of the principles of uniform reports and accounts under the new charter.

After much investigation a report was submitted, which was published by the Exchange, with the result that mandatory requirements for uniform accounting were included in the charter provisions.

This charter has since been adopted by popular vote, and within a reasonable time a fiscal report for Denver may be expected upon the League's lines.

The writer is now engaged upon a re-organization of the reports and accounts of the City of Malden, Mass., of which little can be said at present except that the "uniform" distribution of accounts will be required.

A bill for uniform reports in all the cities and towns of Massachusetts has passed to the third reading in the lower house of the legislature, and it is expected that this bill will become a law this session.

The conclusions which the writer draws from the experiences somewhat hastily narrated herein are the following:—

1. The movement for uniform municipal reports and accounts has now reached the point where it may be considered safely established as a matter which must **General Con-** be reckoned with by every progressive city.
clusions.

2. The work of application to the annual reports of individual cities should be continued wherever possible, in order to accumulate additional data bearing upon the final forms of the schedules, to be recommended hereafter by the Committee.

3. Still more important is the passage by state legislatures of bills compelling uniform reports to be made by cities; coupled, if possible, with mandatory provisions for uniform methods of accounting.

4. It is essential that in the future, as in the past, the

league's committee shall include, or at least shall keep closely in touch with professional accountants who are engaged in practically applying improved methods to city accounts.

5. In addition to the professional accountants the committee should include economists and others from the broad, theoretical side, in order that definitions of terms shall be correctly made, and the best usage established through the whole scheme of municipal accounting.

6. It is exceedingly important that attention be given to the preparation of schedules for the accounts of public industries. A sub-committee could well have this most essential matter in hand. It will be found to be a most difficult and laborious piece of work, but nothing is more important than that uniformity be established in place of the present chaos in reports and accounts of this class.

That the National Municipal League's committee should be a working committee is essential. It should consist of men who can be relied upon to get together and accomplish something—accomplish a great deal, in fact,—as to bring about uniform municipal reports in this country will require much persistence and a considerable period of time.

Uniform Accounting in its Relation to Comparative Municipal Statistics

By **LE GRAND POWERS**
Bureau of the Census, Washington

The United States since its organization has led the world in statistics. By a provision in its Constitution the general government is required to take a census of population every ten years. The first census under this provision of law was taken eleven years before any other nation authorized a periodical enumeration of population, and consisted of the collection and dissemination of a few simple facts relating to population. Now, the census presents every ten years a mass of detailed information covering practically the whole field of social, economic and industrial activity and well-being.

Data relating to wealth, debt and taxation were first collected in 1850, the inquiry being limited to a few leading facts regarding the assessed valuation and true value of real and personal property in the various states of the nation. By successive steps the scope of the investigation has been extended until at present it embraces practically the whole field of financial statistics. Prior to 1880 the statistics published did not include data for any political division other than the nation, state and county. In 1880, certain statistics were presented by townships, boroughs and cities, and in the case of some states, by school districts.

Prior to 1890 these financial statistics were restricted to comparative exhibits of the assessed valuation and true value of private property, and the amount of ad valorem taxes levied for

the various civil divisions. The census of 1890 considerably broadened the field and included a presentation of the receipts and payments of states, counties and minor civil divisions. The census of 1900 will give for all of these civil divisions far more detailed exhibits of receipts and payments, assets and liabilities than ever before.

In 1899, under the provision of a special Act of Congress, the United States Department of Labor began the annual collection and presentation of the social statistics of cities with over thirty thousand inhabitants. Among other Social Statistics statistics were included those of receipts and of Cities. payments, assets and liabilities of municipal corporations, the assessed valuation of private property, and the rate of ad valorem taxation. With a few minor changes, these financial statistics of the Department of Labor were identical with those of the Eleventh Census in 1890. By an executive order issued under provision of the Act creating the Department of Commerce and Labor, the compilation of these social statistics was transferred from the Department or Bureau of Labor to the Bureau of the Census. This transfer took place in 1902.

The statistics of the financial condition and fiscal operations of cities of thirty thousand inhabitants and over now being compiled by the Bureau of the Census are for the year 1902 and cover the field designated by the Act creating the Bureau of the Census and also that previously covered by the investigations of the Department of Labor.

When the social statistics inquiry was transferred from the Department of Labor to the Bureau of the Census, Honorable Carroll D. Wright, Commissioner of Labor, recommended that thereafter these statistics be collected and published biennially instead of annually as required by law. In consequence, a provision was inserted in a bill introduced in the Fifty-seventh Congress directing that these statistics be compiled and published every two years. This bill failed to become a law and no further legislation upon the subject has been enacted by Congress with the exception of the law creating the Department of Commerce and Labor. That law gives the President and the Secretary of

Commerce and Labor certain powers as executive officers for the purpose of simplifying and unifying statistics in all branches of governmental work. Under that authority, the Secretary, by Executive order, has directed that hereafter the social statistics of cities of thirty thousand inhabitants and over shall be taken every two years. Under the practical working of this order the

financial statistics of cities of this class, which
Financial Sta- will shortly be issued by the Bureau of the Cen-
stics of Cities. sus for 1902, will be omitted for 1903 and 1904,
 and the next to be collected will be those for
 1905, which will be compiled in the closing portion of the year
 1906. There is, however, legal authority to collect and pub-
 lish these statistics annually and no doubt the Director of the
 Census will be glad to recommend their annual compilation to the
 Secretary of Commerce and Labor if he can be made to see that
 there is a popular demand therefor which will justify the expense.

The statistics for 1902, soon to be published, will give nearly ten times as much data as any similar publication of the Census or Department of Labor. So far as practicable it will present comparative exhibits of municipal payments and receipts, classified in accordance with the general plan of the National Municipal League, thus making available to students of municipal statistics much hitherto inaccessible data. The collection and compilation of this information has required a far greater expenditure of labor and money than has ever before been devoted to this inquiry. The greater volume of these statistics and the greater detail with which they are to be presented do not, however, necessarily make them more valuable, and may, in fact, tend to make them valueless and even misleading and dangerous unless the statistics themselves are fairly comparable, or in some other manner furnish information of value relating to the efficiency of municipal governments. This fact naturally leads to a consideration of the sources of these statistics and the question of their comparability.

Eleventh The Eleventh Census published the first
Census. national presentation of the fiscal operations
 of large cities. In the preparation thereof it
 sought to use the printed municipal reports, but those in

charge of the work soon found that no comparable statistics could be prepared in that manner. In 1899 the Department of Labor sought to use these printed reports as the basis of its statistics and it was again found that they could not be so employed.

The reasons why comparable statistics cannot be compiled from the published reports of municipalities are as follows: The governments of the various cities do not have identical systems of organization; their accounts are differently classified; and they make use of widely diverse methods of accounting. Under these circumstances an approximation to comparable statistics is obtainable in one manner only—by the employment of expert special agents who correct and supplement the data taken from printed reports by compilation from the books of original record. But even this method is not entirely free from difficulties and limitations, to some of which permit me to call your attention.

The first difficulty met with is the preparation of a suitable schedule. To secure all the data relating to municipal finance which the members of the National Municipal League, the students of American municipal finance and the public officials of our large cities desire, called for a much more comprehensive schedule than any previously employed in the collection of such statistics. In attempting the preparation of such a schedule and the instructions to accompany it, the Bureau of the Census entered a new field with nothing to guide it save the knowledge possessed by its officials and employes concerning the various municipal institutions, methods of administration and official management.

The first attempt has met with a larger degree of success than those in charge of the work dared hope for at the outset, and yet the results are far from perfect. A revised schedule and set of instructions have recently been drawn up, and mark a great improvement as they embody the results of the experience of the special agents in the field and the study of the employes of the bureau engaged in compiling the data on the schedules. The

results of the investigation of the fiscal operations of the larger cities for which the census schedules were prepared, when published will, I trust, be of great service in many ways to the members of the National Municipal League and to others interested in the improvement of municipal government. First of all they will fully disclose the difficulties that must be overcome by the Bureau of the Census, by the officials of local governments, and by the friends of improved municipal administration before fully comparable statistics can be secured. They will bring out in strong relief the different methods of government prevailing in our cities at the present time and the different relations which exist in the individual states between the municipality and the state and county with reference to such subjects as the administration of poor relief, the care of the dependent, defective and criminal classes, the support of courts, and many kindred matters. For example, the tables will show some cities with large payments for charity and the courts, and others with none. These great variations mark the extreme differences between state governments, some of which lay upon the city the total cost of charity or of court maintenance, while in others these expenses are borne wholly by the state or county government. Many other marked contrasts in local systems of administration will be disclosed by the census statistics. In fact, the first, and at present the greatest, value of such statistics consists in bringing out clearly and distinctly the many different functions exercised by American cities. By calling attention to these differences there is established the foundation of a later inquiry into the relative efficiency of the fiscal methods employed by the different cities. With this aspect of the question of financial statistics of cities, uniform accounting has nothing to do. The statistics, so far as they concern these radically different methods of administration, are not comparable and cannot be made comparable by any statistical bureau, even though all the cities of the country should adopt a common classification of accounts and a uniform system of financial administration or accounting.

Various speakers at previous meetings of this League have called attention to the many different methods of keeping

accounts in our cities and have pointed out the imperfections of published financial reports. I need not, therefore, use your time in further discussion of this subject. I

Different will simply say that an examination of the books
Methods of of original record kept by the average Ameri-
Accounting. can city furnishes countless instances of greater confusion than have been pointed out in the published reports. In the great majority of cities the agents of the Bureau of the Census have been obliged to scrutinize practically every entry of the published financial reports and trace them to the ledger accounts. The need of such scrutiny is shown by the following illustration: Our special agent in one of our large cities found an expenditure of \$600 for a public celebration included in the printed report as capital outlay for sewer construction. There was in this case no attempt at fraud or concealment, the misleading entry simply reflecting the want of a good classification whereby the costs of street repairs due to extra work caused by the celebration might be properly assigned. But a critical examination in this way of the books of every large city requires a great expenditure of time and money. The government of the United States, with all its liberal provisions for statistics, cannot afford to spend each year the large sums employed by the Bureau of the Census during the last year in collecting and compiling the data now being prepared for publication. If such statistics are to be compiled annually, as I believe they should be, there must be such changes in municipal accounting methods as will bring the expense down to a reasonable limit, and at the same time make these statistics more comparable and thus more valuable than at present.

I have already stated that the forthcoming census statistics for cities containing thirty thousand inhabitants and over will show marked improvement over any hitherto presented. Nevertheless, there are still many defects which limit their value and hence the published statistics will not meet all of the demands of the public. The great popular questions which you, from time to time, meet to discuss in this League cannot at present be accurately answered through the medium of census statistics. For example, it is as yet impossible, for the larger cities of our

country, to give with any great exactness the comparative or per capita burden of taxation, the comparative or per capita cost of construction, or the per capita cost of maintaining public enterprises. In short any comparisons between per capita statistics based upon the best data now obtainable are bound to be more or less misleading, and will continue so to be until two changes are adopted by the cities. First, they must adopt a more uniform classification of accounts, and, second, more uniform methods of accounting.

Cities should keep their books with the same ends in view as those kept in mind by private individuals and corporations. They should be kept so as to show (1), the honesty of the officials in charge of administration, and (2), the relative efficiency of that administration. As a rule, the books of all our great cities are kept in such a manner that it is possible from an examination of the same to show whether there has been a defalcation or embezzlement. They are not, however, so kept at the present time as to meet the second of the above mentioned requirements, and for these reasons:

There is no uniformity in present methods of administration and accounting. Consequently it is impossible to use the experience of one city as a test of the relative efficiency of the administration of another. It is impossible for one city to profit by the experience of others, as business men learn lessons from the experience of their rivals in trade.

Further, few cities keep their books in such a manner that they can critically check the cost of municipal work performed in one year with that performed in another and definitely ascertain the variation and the cause thereof. All these data you desire, and at the present time you are turning to the Bureau of the Census in hopes that it will provide you with the same. You are asking a multitude of other questions that arise concerning municipal finance. We all want to demonstrate the relative efficiency and economy of various experimental movements in municipal affairs. We want information concerning the advisability of public ownership and operation of quasi-public enterprises and

the per capita cost of the services furnished by these enterprises under given conditions.

The forthcoming compilation of the census will furnish more information of trustworthy nature relating to these subjects than any similar publication ever issued in this or any other country. But the very care and detail with which that compilation has been prepared will bring out its defects and limitations as has been the case with no preceding statistical work. It will show how the ideal of comparative statistics of municipalities halts and must continue to halt until the movement for correct municipal accounting, for an accounting that is at once scientific and uniform for all municipalities, gains greater headway.

The report of your committee through Doctor Hartwell records great progress in this direction in the last half dozen years. It is a greater progress than the most enthusiastic of your members dared prophesy at the beginning of this period. We may, therefore, look forward to the future with reasonable assurance of further progress.

The municipal finance schedules and accompanying instructions prepared by the Bureau of the Census have played an important part during the last year in advancing this movement, having been made the basis of the schedule and instructions issued by the Secretary of State of New York for the collection of the financial data of cities of the second and third classes within that commonwealth. It is to be regretted, however, that the experience of the census could not have been utilized in their preparation. That experience has disclosed many weak spots and imperfections in the first schedules and the New York authorities would doubtless have realized much greater progress in the current year had the knowledge thereof possessed by the census been made use of.

Ohio has recently adopted and put into operation a common classification of municipal accounts and a uniform system of municipal accounting. The movement is extending, and if no grave mistakes are made by its friends it is bound to go forward with accelerating speed until, in the near future, we shall be able to present thoroughly comparable statistics of the finances of all our large municipalities. The city officials with whom the

special agents of the census have come in contact are all kindly disposed toward the movement. Without a single exception, the officials of our large cities have exerted themselves to the utmost to assist the census in its work. Whatever the defects of the census schedules may be, they cannot therefore be charged to any lack of friendly interest or cooperation on the part of city officials, some of whom have furnished clerks for long periods of time to assist the census employees in their work.¹

The difficulties that must be overcome before we can secure the adoption of uniform methods of accounting for all our large cities, and thus lay the foundation for truly comparable statistics, seem to me to be as follows: We must demonstrate beyond a doubt that it is possible to arrange a classification of municipal payments and receipts that shall be applicable to all cities. The census report on municipal finance, when issued, will show something of the limitations within which the scheme of classification adopted by this League can be made the basis of a uniform system of accounts. After a review of the schedules of the great majority of our cities, I can say that I believe that scheme, with minor changes, can be made the basis of a common classification of accounts and hence of a uniform system of accounting for all our cities.

¹ In this connection I ought, however, to note some exceptions to the foregoing statement. In one large city the agent of the census experienced difficulty in reconciling his totals with those published by the city. He asked for an explanation and, after receiving a number of different ones, pointed out the fact that the statements furnished did not explain. The city fiscal officer then left home, and his departure led to a local investigation which resulted in his indictment. The census investigation in two other cities disclosed discrepancies and indirectly led to indictments. I should, however, add that the Bureau of the Census does not consider it a part of its duty to make public reports of errors or wrongdoings which it discovers. It did not of itself disclose the fiscal irregularities here referred to. Its agents discovered irregularities and called the attention of the officers in charge thereto. Fearing exposure, one of them fled, and others acted so suspiciously as to lead to local investigation, as stated above.

That there is need of supervision in cities, you may see by the following fact. Our agents going through the country securing the data for counties, cities and smaller towns, have a fixed route laid out for them, and they are not authorized to depart from that route except by specific instructions from Washington. One day we had requests from three different agents in the United States for modifications of their instructions, since the books that they were there to investigate were in the hands of grand juries and they could not do any work.

The existence of such a condition of affairs marks something of the necessity of uniform accounting, and not only of uniform accounting, but the step which Ohio has taken of a uniform supervision of accounts.

With this fact established by the experience of the census, the friends of uniform accounting and those who desire comparable municipal statistics of fiscal operations can properly enter upon a new field, namely, the discussion of the principles that should underlie all municipal accounting, to which your attention has been called by the very able paper of Doctor Cleveland. Such discussion will disclose the fact that American municipalities have contributed as much toward laying the foundation for uniform and scientific municipal accounting as have those of Great Britain and the continent of Europe, although their contributions have been along different lines. It will become evident, also, that the officers and members of the National Municipal League have been leaders in a movement of incalculable value to all interested in the proper management of the finances of our cities.

There is one question with reference to this subject which I believe this League should carefully consider at this meeting. It is this: How far can the annual collection and prompt publication of detailed statistics of the fiscal operations of our large cities, such as are called for by the census schedule with which you all are doubtless familiar, be made to contribute to the advancement of this cause? Individually, I believe that the field and office work of preparing a second report along the lines of the one now being prepared for the decennial publication can be done at less than one-half the cost of the investigation just closed. This saving would, in part, be the natural result of experience and study on the part of the census employes, while to no small extent it would be due to the greater interest taken in the subject by city officials and their consequent cooperation. If the census can strengthen this latter factor by an annual publication such as that formerly issued by the Department of Labor, and a number of cities be led thereby to classify their accounts so closely in keeping with the census classification as to make it possible after a few years for the census to dispense with all field work for such cities, an immense service will have been rendered to our country. Such a result would mean also an ultimate saving in the collection and classification of municipal statistics.

The members of this League have given many years of study to the subject. You are intimate with the financial affairs of our cities. If the ends for which you are laboring can be better served by annual census reports it is wise for you to agitate for their publication. If those ends can be secured as well by biennial or even less frequent publications, you should express that fact lest the League be charged with fostering an undue expenditure for municipal statistics on the part of the national government.

The ends of good government demand comparable municipal statistics. This is one of the fundamental truths recognized in the organization of your League. The realization of such statistics depends largely upon the early adoption of a common classification of accounts and a uniform system of accounting.

The Need of Comparable Statistics. If a system of accounting is to advance the ends of good government it must be based upon sound principles of economics and embody correct methods of bookkeeping or accounting. At this stage of the movement it is well for members of the Municipal League and all interested in the subject to examine critically the economic basis of the classification of accounts in use in our various cities. Are all receipts obtained from the exercise of the municipal power of taxation to be classed as revenue, or some as revenue and others as trust funds? Are receipts for services rendered by the city by virtue of its authority as a public *entrepreneur* to be classed as revenue, or only that portion which may be designated as profit? Are some of these receipts to be classed as revenue and others as trust moneys? And if so, what is the economic principle on which to base such a classification? That there is need of much careful investigation along these lines, a cursory examination of the classification of accounts now in use in American and European cities will satisfy any thoughtful student of the subject.

Did time permit I should be pleased to speak at length concerning this phase of the subject and enter into a discussion of some of the fundamentals of good accounting. But this is not my theme, and you have neither the time nor the patience to

consider the subject in this connection. I merely call your attention, in passing, to the intimate relation of these subjects to the one which your committee assigned to me, and to the fact that careful consideration must antedate the permanent establishment of a system of uniform accounting which shall give to our great cities the groundwork for truly comparable statistics of fiscal operations.

ORIGINAL
NOT RECORDED

University and Collegiate Research in Municipal Government

By L. S. ROWE

Professor of Political Science in the University of Pennsylvania

The effect of higher education on business efficiency has of late attracted much attention, and the interest aroused is reflected in the rapid development of special departments of commerce and finance in our leading universities. The same interest has

Higher Education and Business Efficiency. not been manifested in the relation of our universities to public life. There has been no searching analysis of the civic usefulness of the college-bred man. It is true that emphasis has been laid on the obligation of the educated citizen to the

community, but no attempt has been made to determine by actual inquiry, whether college training tends to develop a willingness to put forth effort for the public good. In fact, the charge has been made and industriously circulated that

Position of College Graduate. the college graduate is an essentially negative factor in the life of our American communities, that his attitude toward public affairs is critical and destructive, and that owing to this fact he

lacks ability to cooperate with his fellow-citizens in the struggle for civic improvement. It is pointed out that those reform organizations which contain a large percentage of college men lack cohesion and show an inability to concentrate effort on common ends. This view represents the opinion of a

Effects of College Training. large and influential class, who, while not opposed to college education as such, hold that the particular type of training at present offered fails to bring the student into harmony with the

aspirations and ideals of our American communities and leads him to assume the position of a critic rather than that of an earnest worker.

If this charge be true it is a most serious indictment, and

our higher institutions of learning owe it to the country as well as to themselves to examine with great care whether the arrangement of their curricula and the methods of instruction are such as to develop this essentially negative attitude toward public affairs. Two distinct questions are involved in this inquiry. First, what are the effects of the traditional college course in which language, mathematics and history occupy prominent places? and secondly, has the instruction in civics been given sufficiently broad scope to insure the best results?

As to the first of these questions, it must be remembered that language work is essentially critical and that the higher forms of mathematics develop the analytical faculties rather than the constructive powers. **Language Training** Greek and Roman history present but few **Essentially** fruitful comparisons with American conditions, **Critical.** and when such comparisons are made they tend to develop ideals that are incapable of realization under the conditions of American city life. Instruction in municipal government has played too subordinate a part in university instruction to counteract the effects of these and other like studies that now have a dominant place in the college curricula. It is far from my purpose to underrate the study of language, mathematics and history. The only point that I wish to emphasize is that these studies do not contribute toward the development of civic instincts nor to the strengthening of civic effort.

The college graduate enters the life of the community with habits of thought essentially critical and without the steadying influence of an actual acquaintance with political mechanism. He immediately sees its shortcomings, and is impressed with the discrepancy between the ideals that have been held before him and the facts of our political life. In all but the strongest minds the logical outcome of this lack of harmony is a sense of the futility of attempting to improve conditions. This feeling is strengthened by the helplessness due to a lack of acquaintance with the operation of our political institutions. With no prospect of immediate and tangible results, the estrangement of the college man from public life soon becomes

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complete. The desire to benefit the community is thwarted or takes the form of active service in philanthropic societies and church organizations.

As long as there is a tendency of higher education to produce these results, our American universities are not giving to the people of the country a full return for the sacrifice made in their behalf. There is a distinct recognition of this fact in the effort now being made by our larger institutions to bring themselves into closer touch with public opinion. A readjustment of college courses is taking place which promises to increase many-fold the service which higher education is rendering to the nation.

This change is in harmony with the new spirit that has entered into modern education. The test of educational efficiency is no longer the amount of knowledge absorbed, but rather the extent to which the student is prepared for service to his fellow-men and to the community, by increasing his industrial and civic capacity. This new attitude places the study of civics and politics in a peculiarly prominent position and gives to the teaching of municipal government opportunities which it has never before enjoyed. No other branch of civic study offers the same possibility of bringing the student into direct contact with the actual operation of political institutions, and in no other is the material so abundant and so readily accessible. Instruction in municipal government is at once the most ready as well as the most effective means of developing an ability and arousing a willingness to do service to the community.

We are here brought face to face with the second of the questions propounded, namely, the scope of instruction in civics in American universities. The great mass of college students must be content with one course in government, and the amount of material crowded into this course is such as to compel the instructor to confine himself to the general principles involved. The instruction necessarily assumes a didactic tone which only tends to emphasize the critical attitude of the student. The mistake is often made to burden this instruction with constant

admonitions to civic effort. Oft-repeated experience has demonstrated that this form of moralizing fails to arouse or develop the civic instincts, but rather tends to breed a spirit of doubt and opposition. The closer the contact with the facts of our political life the deeper will be the influence on the mode of thought and on the future activity of the college-bred man. The mere presentation of general principles is not only insufficient, but tends to arouse a purely doctrinaire attitude towards public affairs.

It may seem a matter of considerable difficulty to bring the undergraduate student into direct contact with the affairs of the city, and yet experience has proven that this is not only feasible, but productive of excellent results. The plan of work can be arranged so that each student will be called upon to report on some phase of municipal administration, representing the results of his personal investigation.

It is a tribute to the political capacity of the American student that this method arouses an interest and enthusiasm which reacts with considerable force on his character as well as on his attitude toward public affairs. He soon begins to appreciate the fact that good city government means something more than a certain organization of executive departments or a certain relation between the legislative and executive branches of the government. He also begins to see the possibilities of united effort in securing the betterment of specific services such as the street cleaning, sanitation and transportation.

The deeper significance of city life as it affects the life of the nation is impressed upon him, and a corresponding sense of responsibility soon develops.

The most valuable result of this direct contact with public affairs is the disappearance of the feeling of helplessness which usually overtakes the well-meaning citizen when he endeavors to secure some improvement in civic conditions. Close acquaintance with the channels through which civic effort must be directed in order to be effective, is worth years of preaching and admonition. Instead of being impatient of results the student begins to appreciate the fact that civic improvement is neces-

sarily slow, and that progress is dependent not only on the activity of public officials, but also on the combined efforts of the citizen body expressing itself in civic, philanthropic and other associations, each concentrating on some department of city life.

The plan adopted at the University of Pennsylvania has been to select each year some phase of municipal activity and to make the reports presented by the students the basis of discussion. The fact that our universities attract men from every section of the country makes it possible to bring together the experience of different cities and to consider the comparative merits of different systems. The discussions aroused by the presentation of this material make a far deeper impression than any number of formal lectures.

There is another phase of this method of instruction which deserves attention, and which has impressed everyone who is engaged in the teaching of civil government whether in our high schools, colleges or universities. I refer to the effect of this instruction on the families of the students.

The interest of the parent in the work of the student brings to the surface the best traits of individual character. We have

Reactive	hardly begun to realize the reactive influence of
Influence on	the work of the average college student on the
Students'	life and interest of his family. It serves a mis-
Families.	sionary purpose, exciting an interest where
	apathy and indifference formerly prevailed.

Time and again I have had occasion to observe the keen interest in public affairs aroused by the fact that the college representative of the family was engaged in an inquiry into some phase of city activity. It is true that this influence is most marked when the student's family and the university are situated in the same city. But if each student is made responsible for the treatment of some municipal problem in the city of his residence the effect is hardly less noticeable.

That university education is no longer the privilege of the wealthy few is quite as true of our eastern universities as of our western institutions, and as the number of students giving attention to municipal problems increases, the possibility of exerting a strong civic influence on a widening group of families is correspondingly strengthened.

In order to give to the work in municipal government its greatest educational value it is necessary that some effort should be made to secure greater co-ordination and unity of effort. This will have the two-fold effect of enhancing the interest of the work and increasing its scientific value. The plan that I wish to submit contemplates the formation of a committee which will include those who are conducting courses in municipal government. Each year this committee will agree on some topic which is to be made the subject of inquiry during the college year, and for which the student may be expected to collect material during the vacation period. By giving to each member of the class a subject relating to the city of his residence, the spirit of independent research and inquiry will be developed, which will be of great value in after life. It will be the function of this committee to bring those students who are preparing reports on similar topics into relation with each other. A spirit of mutual helpfulness will thus be aroused which will add considerably to the educational value of these courses.

Although the primary purpose will be educational, it must not be inferred that such inquiries will be barren of scientific results. The zeal, ingenuity, persistence and attention to detail with which the college student will take up a work of special inquiry is one of the most inspiring as well as the most hopeful indications of the civic effects of these special investigations. Comparisons between the experience of various cities when presented by the students themselves, arouse discussion and impress upon the student's mind the relative merits of different systems. The study of city government is no longer regarded as synonymous with the analysis of mere governmental forms, but becomes a living reality. The student begins to realize how much good city government means to the health and welfare of the community. This plan also makes prominent the essential unity of the problem as it presents itself to our American communities and emphasizes the necessity of a constant comparison of methods and interchange of experience in order to attain the best results.

In order to make this plan concrete, I beg to suggest that the League appoint a "Committee on Research in Municipal Government," and that during the college year **Appointment** 1905-06 "The Relation of the City to the Street **of Committee.** Railway, Gas and Electric Light Services" be made the subject of investigation.

In each case the subject is to be considered from two different points of view:

First: The legal and financial relations between the city and the companies performing these services.

Secondly: The efficiency of the service.

The topics to be considered, taking the street railway service as an instance, may be arranged as follows:

THE RELATION OF THE CITY TO THE STREET RAILWAY COMPANIES.

I. Legal and Financial Relations.

1. Discussion of the relative powers of state and municipality in granting franchises.
2. The conditions of franchise grants.
3. Payments of the companies into the city treasury.
4. Services other than money payments required of the companies.
5. Power of the city to regulate fares.
6. The reserve powers of the municipality over the efficiency or extension of the service.

II. The Efficiency of the Service.

1. The relation between the length of ride and rate of fare as affecting the distribution of the population.
2. The rates of fare and the plan of transfers.
3. The needs of the community and the plans proposed for meeting such needs.

A similar outline may be used in the investigation of other subjects.

Whether the material collected is worthy of publication or not, it is certain that the conduct of such investigations will exert a marked influence on the civic spirit of our college graduates. This leaven cannot help but contribute something towards the civic advance of our American communities.

A Tentative Program for the Teaching of Municipal Government and of Civics in the Elementary School

By **FREDERIC L. LUQUEER, Ph. D.**

Principal, School No. 126, Brooklyn, N. Y.

I.

In arranging an elementary school program for the teaching of civics, of which municipal government is a most important division, there are two aspects to be considered: first, the subject itself as studied and exemplified by the teacher; second, the portion that may be given to the children.

I would first sketch the outlines of civics as they should perhaps exist in the *teacher's* mind.

The flower in the crannied wall is a small thing, yet to know it one must see the cliffs that bear it and the heavens stretched above it. Our view of civics, of citizenship, is a part of our world view.

**The Teacher's
View of the
Subject.**

From one standpoint of spacial imagination, our earth with its billion and a half of men is but an atom flung from the sun, in the end to be swept away with the swirling dust-wraiths of the universe. From another point of historic imagination we see the multitudinous forms of life, wise as the ant, graceful as the leopard, huge as the mammoth, significant as man,—all involved in the stream of evolution;—species of animals and nations of men, all in the little earth-tragedy worded by a Darwin, a Spencer and a Buckle.

These are but partial views. To consider them solely is to keep looking through a telescope at the wrong end. We must not dwarf our first appreciations of greatness, worth and meaning.

We need in these days of narrow city streets once more to

stand with Kant out under the starry sky and to feel its serene immensity; and we need, too, that second inward glance of his, grasping the worth of intellectual and moral consciousness. "The feeblest of reeds is man," says Pascal in effect; "no need for the universe to arm itself to crush him. A breath of wind is enough. But man is nobler than that which crushes him; for he knows that he dies. But of the victory which the universe has over him, the universe knows nothing. Thus all our dignity lies in our power of thought."

But not in mere intellection. That again would give us the world of cause and effect, of endless evolution and devolution, of fate. We must have the moral and loving thought,—the first love which is the highest wisdom, which alone may give us God, freedom and immortality. It is this thought that appreciates, feels the significance of, the individual and the State. It is from this thought that must spring any useful treatment of man as citizen of nation, state or city.

With this thought-background, the first lines to be drawn in this sketch of the teacher's conception of civics are those indicating the historic development of our modern democracy.

Recent works on sociology will help us here. Take for instance Giddings' *Principles of Sociology*. An early chapter shows the effectiveness of association in advancing the well-being of most animal species.

"The mental consequences of association were," he says, "first, an original development of native susceptibilities and powers." "They were, secondly, a considerable accumulation of knowledge. They were, thirdly, a further development of all acquisitions, powers and susceptibilities through endless combinations, and reactions. Through suggestion and imitation all knowledge of the environment, of foods and of dangers, which was acquired by one soon became the possession of all. The peculiar skill of one in capturing or evading became in like manner the skill of all. Combined action in hunting and fishing and in defense was a constant discipline of antipathies and sympathies, and of power of discrimination and coordination.

"Association, in short," he says, "was a chief cause of variation and of characterization. It created new varieties, and in them it reproduced, in ever-increasing strength, the instinct to associate."

Literary expression of some phases of this is given by Kipling in his *Jungle Stories*; and by Burroughs, Long and Seton-Thompson in their life histories of bird, beaver or wolf. Elementary forms of civic relationships are present in the pack and its leader, the herd and its sentries, the hive with its workers, warriors and queen. Later reference will be made to these when we touch upon incidental teaching of civics in the primary grades.

Association had similar influence upon the development of the tribes and races of men. The instinct of play demanded organized games and festivities, giving rise to song and speech. Language and thought developed under reciprocal influence. The forms of play, worship and warfare called for ever-increasing functions on the part of leader, medicine-man and war chief,—of the later councilor, priest and king.

It is only by difficult research that we can form a picture of primitive society. But our age is distinguished by its effort to understand the present by the gradual comprehension of the stages by which that present has been attained. In our own endeavor for personal growth in civic understanding, we must include the study of the earlier age.

Fortunately, our own country gives opportunity for observing early forms of association and of government among Indian and Aztec inhabitants. From the unattached **Association and** roving hordes, to the more or less loosely bound **Government.** confederacy led by a Pontiac or a Philip, one may find interesting instances of human character, individual and social,—instances necessary to a complete civic comprehension. Read Francis Parkman's account of Pontiac's conspiracy against the white settlers about Detroit, and Fiske's account of King Philip's war against the settlers of Massachusetts and Connecticut, and one will have a clearer insight into the difference between the efficiency in warfare and in other life-needs of a people capable of enduring government, and that of a people undisciplined, with tribes united only by a common hatred of the invader.

For a needed contrast to our own democratic civilization,

we must look not only at the savage and semi-civilized people of America, but to the widely different civilization of the East, ancient as well as modern. There live the people whose unchanging social life endures from generation to generation. Compared with the American, the Oriental is passive and unprogressive. He is submissive under tyranny both of priest and of king.

If, as Hegel suggests, the significance of history is chiefly found in the growth of liberty, then the Orient would represent the lowest stage. There but two are free, God in heaven, and the emperor upon earth. Moving westward, the second stage was reached by Greece and Rome. There many were free, but there was still the larger population of slaves. Finally, with the Anglo-Saxon world, and inspired by Christianity, the age of maturity is reached whose mission is to grasp and to extend the truth that freedom is the birthright of all.

Another general view of social evolution is that of Herbert Spencer. In his *Principles of Sociology* and in his *Principles of Ethics*, he points to the two extreme types of the State: the militant and the industrial. In the militant, government tends to become centralized, with either an autocrat or an oligarchy in control. It is effective in war, but tends to the stamping out of individual initiative and freedom. Not only the army but the people who support it become subservient to despotic rule.

In the industrial State, government is concerned with securing equal rights for the inhabitants. The life and property of each must be protected, and equal opportunity given for the production and interchange of commodities, ideal and material.

This development from the militant type to the industrial is not one of unbroken light and progress. In our own country, the presence of the negro and the Indian, the assumption of foreign territorial rule, the discords between capital and labor, the possession of the vote by the careless rich and the boss-directed many—all are problems indicating that not yet has the ultimate form of the State been attained.

Still another descriptive generalization of the progress of civilization is made by Professor Giddings:

The first stage: the Military-Religious, exemplified by Egypt,

Assyria, Rome. Here conquering armies subjected other nations and exacted servitude and tribute. To a certain extent, laws were formulated, but they were largely the expression of autocratic will, upheld by priestly promise or anathema.

The second, the Liberal-Legal, marked by the founding of constitutional monarchies. Barons and commoners contended for voice and power. The arbitrary rights of kings were curtailed by charter and constitution, written or unwritten. The will of the people was expressed by their representatives. But the will of the people was circumscribed by a narrow circle.

The third stage, the Economic-Ethical,—the age of western civilization in which we are living. This would give fullest opportunity, even to the extent of universal public education, for the complete development of the individual, the governmental functions and restraints being limited by the idea of the general welfare, not stretched to the ambition of a king or of a party.

We have thus reached Democracy, not the evil form named by Aristotle as the antithesis of a good Commonwealth, but the Democracy whose rise and significance are so well pictured in the two great books of Benjamin Kidd, *Social Evolution*, and *Western Civilization*,—a democracy in which there is a growing feeling of solidarity, in which the wiser, the richer, the more fortunate are spending and being spent for the uplifting of those less fortunate. Says Kidd: "Neither in form nor in spirit have we anything in common with the democracies of the past. Great as has been the progress in outward forms, the more important difference lies far deeper. The gradual emancipation of the people and their rise to supreme power has been in our case the product of a slow ethical development in which character has been profoundly influenced, and in which conceptions of equality and of responsibility to each other have obtained a hold on the general mind hitherto unparalleled."

From this brief glance at the course of human progress in its political aspect, it is apparent that the subject of civics cannot be a mere outline of more and more complex governmental

carrying on its life and its ideals. The function of the school, from the standpoint of the state, is to make citizens. How necessary, then, that the school itself should be intent upon this goal! Herein may be found the sanction for the teaching of civics in the schools. A true education leads to self-consciousness—that is, to a comprehension, as far as may be, of what one is and does. A true civic education leads not to a mechanical performance of civic habits nor to a parrot repetition of civic formulas, but to the knowledge and the habit held consciously and performed purposefully. To this end there must be instruction leading to this grasp of personal civic responsibility and privilege. Just how this may be done is the professional problem of the teacher.

But to return to the teacher's study of the national school systems. A helpful book for this study is a recent volume of the Contemporary Science Series, entitled "The Making of Citizens—A Study in Comparative Education." This treats of the modern educational movement in the leading countries of the world. The very title indicates the relation of the schools to the state, and also the necessity of having in those schools the instruction which makes clear the purpose of their being.

England, France, Germany, the United States, all have their school systems, springing from their own soil, flowing so that each child may go his life journey with opened eye and unstraying feet, ready to do his part in carrying on the nation.

This comparative study will bring the teacher back enriched for work in his own land. It will tend to give a clear view of the moral and civic importance of his work—a view necessary to his making the fullest response to his calling.

The pulse of our modern democracy beats in the city. Three-quarters of the population of New York State live in cities. The proportion is growing. Civic relationships touch the people of the city on every hand. The child enters these relationships at once. They have their seamy side, to be sure. The landlord does not want him. The motorman fears him. The fruit vender puts wire screens about his wares. The automobilist on Riverside Drive dodges him and ducks to escape the missiles thrown. The teacher is worn out by worse than the continual dropping of hail on the eaves, and the pedagogue sighs for the rod.

But there are the bright, the happy children,—God's flowers in the man-made city. And these are they that will carry on the city's life and progress. Whatever may be said of the need in general of civic instruction in the schools, must be said with added emphasis concerning the schools of the city.

II.

We now turn to the problem of the elementary school instruction in civics, particularly in municipal citizenship and government.

In April, 1903, the convention of the National Municipal League appointed a committee, with Superintendent Maxwell as its chairman, to investigate the work done and to carry that work further in a way commensurate with its importance. A preliminary inquiry has been widely sent to educators throughout the country. As related to the elementary schools, some of the questions asked were:

1. What is being done toward instruction in municipal government in the school or schools under your observation? Incidentally, in connection with geography, history, or other subjects? Regularly in connection with civics? Time allotment? Text-books? Pupil government? Otherwise?
- The League's Preliminary Inquiry.**
2. In what year of the elementary course should the study of civics be begun? How many minutes a week should be given to the study in the successive years? What proportion to municipal government?
3. If you can spare it, kindly enclose any syllabus of civics teaching you may have. Can you recommend one of which you know?
4. What text-books or supplementary readers do you think most helpful? (a) In the teaching of civic duty? (b) In describing civic organization? (c) As reference books for teachers?
5. What are the fundamental ideas that should be developed in the elementary school study of civics?
6. What is your opinion of the value of the "School City?" (a) As an aid to the training of pupils towards effective citizenship? (b) As a mode of school government?
7. What form of "School City" or pupil government do you consider best adapted to the elementary school?
8. Describe all the means of teaching municipal government which you consider effective and indicate relative value.

The full answers of over a hundred responses cannot here be given. But enough may be presented to indicate the general condition of instruction in the subject, and the lines upon which further constructive work may be urged.

What is Being Done. In regard to the first question—What is being done?—a few typical replies may be given:

From Supt. Whitcomb, Lowell, Mass.: "No systematic instruction in Lowell public schools."

From Supt. Overholt, of Rochester, Maine: "Correlated with all subjects. No regular time-allotment. No pupil government."

From Supt. Warner, of Tacoma, Washington: "Only incidentally. We give one semester in the eighth year to the subject, using a text-book."

From Supt. Poland, Newark, N. J.: "Comparatively little except incidentally."

From Supt. Griffith, Utica, N. Y.: "Practically nothing."

From Supt. Palmer, West Bay City, Michigan: "None."

From Supt. Coulson, Rensselaer, N. Y.: "In connection with history only."

From a number of the principals of New York City schools replies were received, some of which indicated a full treatment of the topic. But the statement of Supt. Truesdale, of Geneva, N. Y., fairly sums up the general situation: "Some attention, of course," he says, "is given to the subject, but little compared with its importance."

In regard to the "school city" or other form of public government as a help in the teaching of civics and a useful means of school management, the prevailing opinion, as evidenced in these replies, is negative. About five of the writers are in favor of some form of school city; another five favor it, *if strongly administered*, while about thirty emphatically oppose it. About fifteen see value in some of the simpler forms of school government.

Some of the replies at this point are as follows:

From Prin. Irving, Springfield, Mass.: "Haven't tried 'School City,' for it seems a too cumbersome machine for results obtained in day school work."

From Supt. Sagendorph, Hudson, N. Y.: "Have examined it carefully and decided to stick to the old plan."

From Supt. Overholt, Rochester, Maine: "Little value. A pupil should be governed by the word and authority of the teacher."

From Supt. Warner, Tacoma, Washington: "It might be made very effective. I have some doubts about it."

From Supt. Missimer, Erie, Pa.: "Of doubtful value."

From Supt. Kneil, Saratoga Springs, N. Y.: "I am very doubtful of its efficacy along either line."

From Supt. Call, Ansonia, Conn.: "Useless and needless."

From Supt. McCartney, Henderson, Ky.: "Too cumbersome. Makes the matter of government too prominent."

From Supt. Gastman, Decatur, Ill.: "All depends upon the teacher in charge. A strong one will get good results, while a weak one will waste the time."

From Supt. Davey, East Orange, N. J.: "A great deal of machinery with little value as compared to results more easily obtained."

From Supt. Nilson, Lincoln, Ill.: "I think it is not necessary, as a better result can be reached in another way. In other respects, such a scheme disregards the fundamental principle of school organization and tends to thwart the most important aim."

From Prin. Tate, New York City: "In my judgment children can be as effectively brought to take responsibility, to consider the rights of others, to conform to law and to authority, and in time make good citizens, in a natural way, as by any formal system of school government."

Unfavorable Replies.

From Supt. Balliet, Springfield, Mass.: "It is a needlessly complicated piece of machinery. The idea underlying is a good one; it should be worked out in much simpler form."

From Supt. Russell, Wheaton, Ill.: "I consider it of little value. Children should be governed. If they are taught to obey implicitly when young perhaps they will obey the laws when they become men and women. One of the great difficulties at the present time is the lack of parental and school control. If the rod were used more at home and in school there would be less trouble in municipal and federal government. We are not wiser than Solomon in precept at least."

From Supt. Gove, Denver, Colorado: As regards pupil government, "so far, I have found myself in an antagonistic

attitude. I believe I have seen as much harm as good from this, and I conceive the former to have arisen from the cultivation in the American boy of an independent, 'Young America' spirit, to the harm of the boy in his social and domestic life."

There is a minority, however, in favor of the scheme.

Supt. Griffith, Utica, N. Y., writes: "I like it in regard to both civics teaching and school government. The one in use at New Paltz is excellent. I did not like the one in the John Crear School in Chicago."

Prin. Mead, Providence, R. I.: "It is very valuable. The simplest form possible. I like best the one that suggests the village community idea of our Anglo Saxon ancestors."

Prin. Ray, New York City: "In my judgment the government of the school should be in the hands of the scholars themselves, and this can best be done by the formation of a school city. They can attend to the **Favorable** policing of the school and can, in other ways, **Experience.** parallel the work that is done in the various city departments. There should be, however, *sub rosa* supervision by the Principal."

The following reply from Prin. Bristol, of New York City, though largely on the negative side, is of great value: "Over two years ago," he writes, "I had four 'School Cities' in this school. I have had the full value of Mr. Wilson L. Gill's exposition and advice, have visited the New Paltz State Normal School, where they had 'School Cities' and a 'School State,' I have read and observed somewhat upon this general question.

"As to its value in training for good citizenship,—masquerading through voting booths, voting according to teachers' instructions, knowing nothing of what they do and getting fun out of it, is all there is to the 'School City' in primary grades. It illustrates bossism of the most absolute type, the teacher telling the embryonic citizen every motion he has to make. The police and magistrates may interest such children if they think it play. They can only echo what they hear. They are as children who would learn of horses by playing horse.

"The pupils of the seventh and eighth years can be taught the organization of the city by a mimic pupil organization. They are, however, unable to carry out the legislative and judicial features except as they are coached and steered at every turn. I tried faithfully to get my maturest 'city fathers' to work from suggestion into something that was in some sense their own, but in vain.

"In secondary schools and colleges and where pupils are mature, the plan can be made to yield excellent results. 'The Students' at Vassar College is a power. . . The Carlisle Indian school is a very happy instance of success.

"In elementary schools the 'School City' may succeed where schools are small, and principals can command leisure to push a scheme of special interest to themselves. But in a huge, ill-constructed house and congested school mass like mine, the benign autocrat who must assume responsibility for all conditions gets only an added load out of school cities."

The middle ground, of opinion in process of formation, is well taken by Dr. Cormaa, Principal of a Philadelphia grammar school.

He writes:—"I have had less than a year's experience with the practical operation of the 'School City.' I have approached the question of its value in the spirit of an investigator—not as a partisan—and my opinion, therefore, is in process of formation. Holding the following, subject to revision in light of a wider experience, I would say: (a) It may be made the means of imparting some (not very much) knowledge of the machinery of municipal government and its operation and be utilized to cultivate the feeling of civic responsibility to a considerable degree.

"(b) The influence of the 'School City' upon the government of the school may be bad if the plan be poorly managed. If well managed its influence will probably be good, making, on a whole, for a good school spirit and for respect for law and order.

"The 'School City' as developed by Mr. Wilson L. Gill is the only form with which I am familiar. The details of the plan

as given by him must be modified to suit special conditions. On the whole, it would seem best to me to modify his plan in the direction of simplicity. It is not possible to parallel exactly the details of municipal government in the 'School City' organization, nor would it always be desirable even if it were possible. The defects of the City Charter or form of government would tend to be perpetuated if impressed upon the rising generation through its school cities."

So much for what is being done in the way of teaching civics both by book and by model. We have seen how far from satisfactory is the general condition as regards the first, and how largely negative is opinion regarding the value of the second.

There is need, then, for constructive work along the lines

both of course of instruction in citizenship and of providing opportunity for practice in the virtues and duties of citizenship, by some form of school government imitative of, or leading up to, our American civic institutions.

Time Allotment and Courses. As preliminary to this constructive work, some of the replies regarding an advisable time allotment and course of study in civics should be cited.

First, those favoring only incidental teaching:

Supt. Overholt, Rochester, Maine: "I would give no time allotment. Avoid formal study which will prove to be the consideration of dry facts forgotten as soon as learned."

Supt. Robbins, Bethlehem, Pa.: "Not at all as a separate branch."

Supt. Skinner, Oneida, N. Y.: "Not as a separate study, inasmuch as our courses are now overcrowded; but incidentally through the whole of the elementary and grammar grades; through the reading lessons, especially in the supplementary readers provided, and in the general lessons."

Supt. O'Brien, DePere, Wisconsin: "Not sooner than the fourth year in any case. I am not settled as to the advisability of a settled course."

Supt. Davey, East Orange, N. J.: "While there is a certain amount of benefit to be derived from the study of civics by grammar school pupils, it seems to me there are other subjects which at that period of the child's existence are much more valuable. If the pupil has read and discussed Dole's *The Young Citizen* as a reading book in school, and has incidentally acquired the facts connected with geography and history in the regular grammar course, he has done a good deal and ought not to be asked to devote more time to the subject."

Those favoring little teaching in the subject save in the last two years:

Supt. Whitcomb, Lowell, Mass.: "Incidental lessons in all grades. In last year of elementary school life the subject of civics should receive a very considerable and definite share of the time given to history, which with us is 150 minutes a week."

Prin. Hamilton, Calais, Me.: "In my judgment regular work in civics should be given in the year devoted to an exten-

sive study of United States history. This is most often the eighth year, I think. In most municipalities with which I am acquainted the disparity between the real and the ideal in municipal government is so great that it would not make good material for schoolroom discussion, for obvious reasons."

Supt. Parkinson, Waltham, Mass.: "Below the eighth year, it should be a matter of observation of any and every act done for the public good, within the child's field of view. In the eighth and ninth years, three or four lessons a week for part of the year. Also special lessons in connection with current events. (To municipal government should be devoted) only that portion which current events dictate. The principles of government are the same in the city, state and nation. The city in most particulars is no more within the child's range of view than the nation. Each must be abstract to him."

Those favoring incidental teaching throughout most of the course, with more or less instruction in the later years:

Supt. Poland, Newark, N. J.: "In the fourth, fifth and sixth years, incidental to other studies at every favorable opportunity. In the seventh, thirty minutes; in the eighth, forty-five minutes for one half year. In the fourth, fifth, sixth,—largely municipal; In the seventh and eighth,—chiefly state and national."

Prin. Cronson, New York City: "The study of civics should be begun during the first year of the child's life. The value of the study, to my mind, does not consist in the amount of information that can be imparted by it, but rather in its power to arouse a feeling of civic pride. Too many of our children, unfortunately, live in an atmosphere in which government and tyranny are regarded as identical, and liberty is confounded with license. It should be the deep concern of our schools, not merely to eradicate such notions from the minds of the children, but to replace these with sane ideas upon government, laws, rights, and duties; and the sooner the attempt is made, the better."

Prin. Devlin, New York City: "Civics should be begun incidentally in the lowest grammar grade. In the last two years it may be regularly taken up and forty minutes a week devoted to the subject. To municipal government, forty minutes a week for eight or ten weeks of the last half of the eighth year should be allotted."

Supt. Balliet, Springfield, Mass.: "I should not teach civics, except incidentally in connection with other studies, below grade

6. In the sixth, seventh and eighth grades, I should teach the subject by giving a daily lesson of from twenty minutes to half an hour for from two to three months in the year—two could probably suffice in grades six and seven. It is better to have a daily lesson for a short period and keep the subject 'hot,' than to give one or two lessons a week through the year. I should make the work largely social ethics—duties of the individual to the government as a member of it—in grades six and seven. In grade eight, I should devote two-thirds of the time to municipal government and about one-third to state and national government."

These are but a few of the eighty replies, more or less, relative to the time allotment and to the teaching as to whether it should be incidental or should treat civics systematically as a separate subject.

Summary of Results. The number advocating only incidental teaching in the fourth year, 41; systematic teaching, 13.

In the fifth year, incidental teaching as against systematic, 43 to 21.

In the sixth year, incidental teaching as against systematic, 41 to 27.

In the seventh year, incidental teaching as against systematic, 35 to 36.

In the eighth year, incidental teaching as against systematic, 32 to 45.

These numbers are approximations, but they would indicate:

(1) Majority opinion favors only incidental teaching of civics during the fourth, fifth and sixth years of the elementary school.

(2) Opinion is about balanced between incidental and systematic teaching for the seventh year.

(3) It favors systematic instruction in the subject for the eighth year.

With these general considerations and opinions in mind, let us attempt a more specific statement.

I must refer again, as a necessary preliminary, to the character and to the equipment of the teacher. All agree that there

must be at least incidental teaching of civics in the elementary schools. Such teaching, if inspiring and effective, calls perhaps for more on the part of the teacher than does the more formal teaching in connection with a text-book. Not alone the special teacher of civics, but the teacher of every grade, from the kindergarten up, must be a conscientious and instructed citizen. The study and realization of citizenship is one of the permanent culture-needs of the teacher. Most of the finer qualities of citizenship can only be taught by example, by the tone and quality of personality.

Not a few replies to the questionnaire emphasize the essentiality of having the good teacher for any successful instruction in civics, incidental or specific.

Professor Thurston, of the Chicago Normal School, writes: "A course of study will not give civic life to the children unless the teacher who uses it is alive to the spirit of that course of study and not merely to its letter."

Superintendent Gove, of Denver, asserts: "The spirit of the entire enterprise must depend ultimately, as does all our effort in this world, upon the personality of the individual or individuals who are appointed to do the actual work. Committees and supervisors may advise and suggest, but the spirit and vigor and intelligence necessary in the method of presentation will forever lie with the teacher."

Principal Cornman, of Philadelphia, quotes this strong passage from Earl Barnes: "Children rise to a sense of characters in public life through a knowledge of the people around them; they judge of the relation of these characters to the state by their relation to themselves; they first sense law through personal commands, and the state through its officials."

"To educate good citizens we must surround children with good men and women. . . . Special emphasis on citizenship, as usually understood in elementary education, is largely wasted time; and yet the patriotic teacher will breed patriots in all his attempts to make good men and women. Citizenship is but one attribute of good and intelligent men and women, and this study calls us back once more to a realization of the wholeness of elementary education. All attempts to make good artisans, good leaders of commerce, good soldiers and officers, or good citizens and rulers by any short cut, will produce only one-sided, uncertain and dangerous grown-up children."

This hints at still another preliminary to any course in civics in the elementary school, namely, the recognition of the need of concomitant moral instruction. This instruction

The Need of Moral Instruction. tion is especially important in countries whose great systems of national education, though permeated with the religious sense of the people, are nevertheless carried on without an expressed religious sanction. France has a problem similar to our own. The spirit in which that problem must be met, in both France and America, is well voiced in the circular written by M. Vessiot, academic inspector of schools at Marseilles, France. It is included in the report for 1882 of the United States Commissioner of Education.

I quote a few of the sentences:

"Moral and civil instruction meets the wants as well as the wishes of the country; it is a necessary consequence of the profound change which is taking place in our institutions, in our laws, in our manners. The establishment of the republic and of universal suffrage, which is its basis, has given to the school a new character; it imposes upon the teacher new duties. The primary school is no longer merely local, communal; it has become in the highest degree a national institution, on which even the entire future of the country depends. It is no longer a place to which the child resorts to acquire certain information that may be useful to him in private life; it is the source from which is to be drawn, together with the principles of universal morality, a knowledge of his rights and duties in regard to public life; it is the school of citizenship and patriotism.

"The function, then, of the teacher is notably increased, and his responsibility extended. The teacher used to drill his pupils in reading, writing, and arithmetic; now, without neglecting that portion of his duty, he ought to have a higher ambition, namely, that of raising up for the country defenders and for the republic citizens. . . .

"The teacher must grapple with the problem how to render lucid and pleasing those truths which flow from the very nature of man and the existence of society, and to induce children to make them the rules of their conduct. What is needed is that there should be awakened, developed, fortified in them those sentiments which give dignity to man, honor to families, and power to states.

"Moral and civil instruction ought not then to be confined to one division or subdivision of the scholastic programme, restricted to one class or to a prescribed hour, pressed in the narrow mould of a few inert formulas or solemn maxims; it ought to permeate all parts of the work of instruction, blossoming out in varied developments and reappearing every day and every hour; it ought to be the life, the soul, of the school. It is in the school that the child should draw in morality and patriotism as he inspires air, without noticing it; for to teach morality successfully there is no call for too much moralizing. That moral lesson which is announced risks being lost. Moral instruction should be combined with everything, but insensibly, like those nutritive elements which the scientist finds reappearing in all sorts of food, but which are concealed under the infinite variety of color and from in which nature clothes animals and plants, and which man unwittingly assimilates without a suspicion. Thus moral instruction will enter into the various work of the class, the readings, recitations, dictations, the stories related by the teacher, the selections made from the poets and romancers, the familiar and sprightly conversations, the grave reflections on history, the games, the promenades—being everywhere present, in short, without making its presence remarked."

This incidental moral and civic instruction must go hand in hand throughout the course. I would not attempt to set down a definite program for this part of the teacher's work. It flows from the enriched nature and growing character of the teacher. It is the true pointing of the magnetic needle. It is not the Latin name of a flower, but its perfume. It is not a perfunctory word or deed; it is love, it is faith, it is hope,—in one's country and in the individual child, who is a part of that country and may mean so much to it.

Now, let us assume that we have such a teacher. Thankful may we be that there are many in our city schools who measure up to this standard, as far as the human can measure up to its own ideal. Let us assume, I say, that we have such a teacher consciously planning to bring to the school children all they can receive of civic history and duty.

His first problem would be to provide for the incidental teaching. At what point can this be brought to bear?

First, in the daily opening exercises either in the individual classroom or before the assembled school. Even the kinder-

garten has its morning talk, which is essential to the work of the day. The keynote is there struck of **The Time for** the subject matter and of the child's attitude **Instruction.** toward it. Froebel's songs and games are really a prolegomenon to social civics. One of these songs begins:

"A silent thought lies dim and hid in baby's mind:
He's not alone in life; he's one amid mankind."

The child's relations to family and friends, the trades and occupations of the neighborhood, the conception of his being a contributing part to the pleasure and success of the class, are all simply worded in these opening talks and songs. The dramatic imitation is had in the following games, which in turn are kept as near as may be to reality by visits to the blacksmith, foundry or store.

This beginning should not be lost, as is perhaps often the case, in the classes that follow. With growing distinctness and detail, with increasing fervor of personal appeal, all the fundamental social and civic ideas should be steadily developed in the opening exercises throughout the course.

In the older classes, reference may be made to current events, patriotic deeds of soldiers, heroic acts of firemen or of life-savers, patient integrity and industry of workman or shopkeeper, the character of praiseworthy public officials. For instance, recently, President Roosevelt's letter to the men forming the Panama Commission stated the basic principles of meritorious public service,—the foresight, energy, devotion needed in the work before them. That letter was the best of texts for an opening exercise.

To assemblies the men in various life-callings should be invited. A few words from these will give lasting impress. Not long ago a representative of the street-cleaning department spoke with impelling interest to the children of several of the schools upon their share in helping the department care for the city streets.

Why should not the Police Captain and the Fire Chief of the district be asked to say a few earnest words to the children at

their assemblies? The need of obedience to law, the heroism of the true citizen would then have a real and nearby meaning.

In short, the moments of opening exercise, though brief, offer one of the most important opportunities for helpful civic instruction.

We now come to the daily work of the classroom.

There is hardly a subject of the course of study which does not give ready support for the incidental teaching of civics.

Take first the nature work.

Many cities have courses of instruction rich in topics for this study. From the kindergarten up, constant reference is made to the bird and animal, to the field, the flower and the forest.

Aside from the intrinsic interest and value of the study of flowers, shrubs and trees, these have close connection with the fairer side of city life. They link the country to the city. The appreciation of the trees on our city streets and the delight in our parks should be fostered. The improvement of the suburbs is of interest to the public-spirited citizen. Our children and their parents may be made to take civic pride in what the city has done and may do in this wholesome return to nature.

A few days ago a boy of fourteen, to whom I had just issued working papers, pointed from the window to a splendid tree beyond the school-yard fence, saying: "Mother planted that when I was born."

If birthdays and other festivals were more frequently marked in this way, many a bare place in the city would be made beautiful.

The civic sense of the teacher must sometimes curb the nature study sense of the children. In the early spring, in some of the front yards, lilac bushes put forth their first leaves. Sometimes a nature lesson, in its need of material, suggests these as legitimate prey to the young enthusiasts. The lower branches of trees are seized upon, and brought triumphantly to the classroom. Verily the woods of Dunsinane again seem on the march. Here is opportunity for renewing the civic idea of the sacredness of private and public property—of the idea that

we have no right to take or to damage individually what belongs to and may be enjoyed by the community.

This interest of the village, city and state in the trees is strongly expressed in a recent report of the Forest, Fish and Game Commission of the State of New York. It is entitled: "Tree Planting on Streets and Highways." It is beautifully illustrated and should be in the hands of our city teachers.

The relative value of certain trees to the city should be a phase of the tree-study of the children. From this the step is easily taken to the value of trees to the State, and to the State's measures for their preservation. Thus one of the important functions of government may be touched upon.

In the study of birds, another branch of the nature work, we have not only a study of a beautiful family of Mother Earth, but we are listening to voices of freedom and of patriotism.

There is something fundamental in the Indian's choice of animal or bird as the totem of his tribe. The freer and more progressive peoples of today still have as their emblem the eagle, with his arrows of war and olive branch of peace. Who can watch the flight of an eagle without seeing in it the symbol of the limitless freedom we aspire for? The thoughts of the Swiss mountaineers were one with it. The Roman legions were held together by it and swept onward over Europe, conquering.

Then there is the lark—the inspiration of poets from Chaucer to Shelley, free yet singing of the peaceful meadows of England. There is the swallow of the high river bank and of the homely eaves of barns, symbol of glad liberty and of the life of the home.

Lowell was a true American. Who can tell how much of the patriotism of the Commemoration Ode was not first whispered to him through his study windows from the birds without?

Another report of the Albany Commission, on The Economic Value of Birds to the State, opens with these words: "The bird is the property of the State. From this fundamental conception of the bird's legal status there can be no logical ground for dissent. Here is the great commonwealth of New York with agricultural and forestry industries which annually yield products valued at \$266,000,000. In closest relation to the welfare of these indus-

tries stands a group of animals represented by some 350 species and millions of individuals."

This phase of the study of birds should be dwelt upon. Thereby is begun a fundamental, though incidental, study of civics.

The study of birds and trees leads us to the study of the farmer and his work. It is the civic duty of the city teacher to portray the agricultural background and subsoil to the city. This can be done in connection partly with nature study and partly with geography. The work of the garden, orchard and farm must be brought out in its interest and its importance. The country gives the city its young and enterprising men. The city must send to the country some of its own youth.

Secretary Wilson, of the Department of Agriculture, said in a recent interview: "Under the American flag at home and in the island possessions about one-half of the people live by cultivating the soil and preparing its products for food for the world." In addition to its maintenance of agricultural colleges and experimental stations, the department last year printed nearly 1,000 different publications and sent out 12,000,000 pieces of literature relating to agriculture and its branches. The United States today are doing more work for the farmer than all the other countries of the world combined."

Nature study in this way incidentally introduces the study of one of the great departments of the government. The city is dependent upon the country both for its food supply and for a strain of its more robust manhood. Cincinnatus was called from his plow to be tribune of Rome; Washington from his Virginia plantation to be the leader of our nation.

In the study of animals, begun in the primary grades, reference should be made to the associated life of the animal—the buffalo herd, the wolf pack and the beaver community.

Elementary civic notions are here abundant. The sentries posted about a herd of grazing deer; the leader, Lobo, of the wolves; the forgetful, idle, loquacious people of the monkeys, the Bander Log of Kipling; the division of labor among ants and bees—all are a prototype of human association, organization and government.

In the middle grades, geography is specifically studied, and history is begun. These give opportunity for incidental, yet specific, civics teaching. In a recent communication, Dr. Charles McMurry writes:

"There are certain topics in geography and history which give a strong emphasis of social and political ideas, and they involve all the special and concrete facts which give a real meaning and interest to the subjects. It is in such topics that the best civic teaching can be effected. In studying the value of gravel roads in aiding local commerce and travel we have such a geography topic. The history of the town council in New England towns is such a topic in history.

"In many of these geography and history lessons the fact that ideas on civics are incidentally brought in is an advantage, because they appear in their real environment and proper association, and are thus far better understood. . . . I am inclined to think that the incidental teaching of civics in geography and history is preeminently important."

Still more specifically, let us examine the possibilities of civics teaching, incidental to geography. In the New York City schools, the study of geography is begun in the first half of the fourth year. Home geography—**Geography as a Means.** the people and their occupations, and local history beginning with the early history of New York, are assigned this grade. Here is a rich field for the incidental study of civics. Most of the following topics are mentioned in the geography syllabus: The nationalities represented in the population, the problem of making all these diverse peoples into good citizens, the industries and commerce, observation and reports upon the work of the police, fire, health and street-cleaning departments; simple explanation of business concerns, individual and corporate, and of the great value of skilled labor,—what have we here in this syllabus on geography but topics for introductory lessons in municipal problems and government? And rightly so.

The method suggested for studying this local geography is the method that should be employed in giving early notions of the municipal government and its activities. "Emphasis should be laid," reads the syllabus, "upon the value of excursions and

visits to the fields, parks and museums, to the docks and water fronts, to centers of local industry, manufacturing establishments and sources of supply and to historical localities, buildings, monuments and tablets." Here geographical teaching and civic teaching go hand in hand.

As pointed out by Prof. Thurston, of the Chicago Normal School, there is danger of taking up in long succession one political servant or activity after another, without developing the conception that they are all factors of the one governmental mechanism by which a community would seek to further the general welfare.

Even in the early incidental teaching, the understanding of the two sides of the one civic functioning must be given: first, the actual work performed or the office filled; second, the city's method, its political machinery, for employing the worker or filling the office.

Most stress, in the early years, will be put upon the varied civic occupations, private and official, and upon the outer symbols or clothing of the body politic. Later will come the clearer explanation of the inner spirit, of the basis, the perpetuation, the functioning of that body.

In the second half of the fourth year, in geography, the Western Hemisphere is studied with special attention to North America. Some of the topics embraced by this study that lend themselves to the incidental treatment of civics are: The peoples of North and South America. The industries associated with the products of vegetable and animal life, and of mines and quarries. Facilities for transportation and commerce by the great inland lake and river routes and coastwise lines. Great transcontinental railroads and their influence on the peopling and development of the continent. Countries and comparative importance. Great manufacturing and commercial centers. The capital and government of each country.

Similar opportunity is given in the later grades, in the study of Europe, Asia, and Africa,—their differing countries and governments. Political geography is one of the main divisions of geographic study; and this division in its entirety forms a wide basis for the incidental treatment of civics, through the topics

suggested by the teacher, the text book, the supplementary reader and the library book.

It must be remembered that children of the last five years of the grammar school are at the end but about fourteen years of age. In the incidental and early study, therefore, not too much should be attempted in the way of detail or philosophic explanation. Here we can but learn the alphabet and understand the simple story.

In the fifth year, the study of history is begun. The great leaders and benefactors of mankind are sketched in simplest outline. Here we have the exemplars and **History as a** makers of government, the great standards in **Means.** civic virtue and patriotism. Pericles and Athens, Cæsar and Rome, Constantine and Constantinople, the French Revolution and Paris, Napoleon and France, Bismarck, and Germany—what an alphabet is here for the larger spelling of civics!

Then we touch the men leading in the discovery, the colonial development, the liberation, the constitutional shaping, the civil war and reconstruction of our own country.

Take the life of Franklin as one specially rich in suggestion for civic teaching. His unceasing activity in developing his own resources and those of his neighbors is a very mine of suggestion for the teaching of American civics. In the last report of the United States Commissioner of Education, there is an exhaustive study of Franklin as citizen and as prime mover in the civic education of his countrymen. His purpose, with simpler elements to work upon, was one with the purpose of the Municipal League of today. His entire public policy, as summed up by Parton, was "to enlighten public opinion, and to bring enlightened public opinion to bear upon the councils of public men."

So with the other characters, in different ways. This biographic study is a pasture ground for great souls to feed upon. Children can be led but upon its borders. Still, these may be made to seem delightful; and the children will return in later years to walk further inland.

In the sixth year of the common school course, American history is studied by means of an elementary text-book. Here

incidentally the pupils get fuller acquaintance with the development of American institutions. The main epochs are fixed in mind, the significant forms and instruments of government.

In this year, I would advocate the reading, with explanation by the teacher, of such a book as Dole's "The Young Citizen," or Judson's "Young American." These books present entertainingly, in simple language, a somewhat systematic arrangement of the civic conceptions, institutions and governmental forms with which the pupil has become more or less familiar through the incidental instruction.

The class library, too, should contain such books as Martineau's "Prince and Peasant," "Uncle Sam's Secrets," and Brooks' "How the Republic is Governed." Skillful hints on the part of the teacher would lead the pupils to take these books home, to get father or older brother interested in them and in their explanation; and would lead to many an excursion to places of municipal interest and public work.

The seventh year is devoted to English history. The social and political development of the country is particularly dwelt upon. The rise of representative government is made clear in outline. This should not be a bare summary of dates of Magna Charta, of the foundation of parliament, of the tyranny of Charles, or the iron-handed work of Cromwell. An imaginative conception must be formed of the men of England, and their doings at home and abroad. The growing sense felt by Englishmen led by a Wilberforce, a Mrs. Browning and a Howard—the sense of responsibility for the bondage of the slave, the labor of children, the horrors of the prison—this sense should be shared in its first emotions by the pupils. This is not history alone, it is civics.

In the year before, according to the plan suggested here, the children have read an elementary reading book on citizenship and government. The ideas given birth by this should be cherished and developed by the teacher's emphasis upon the related parts of the English history.

In the eighth year, helped by one or more of the advanced text-books, the return is made to American history. Incidentally a rich content of civic teaching is furnished. The colonial

governments—governors, burgesses, charters; Continental Congress; Articles of Confederation; the Constitution, its definition of the three departments; Washington and his administration; the rise of parties; banking and tariff problems; slavery and emancipation; race antipathies; immigration; foreign relations; character of representatives, and high officials; state versus national supremacy; the government of dependencies; Supreme Courts, and merger decisions—all these are topics for joint treatment by history and civics. History is the perspective sketch; civics the working drawing, of our democratic civilization.

During the first term of this last year, there should be specific instruction in civics. Dole's more advanced book, or any of a number of similar books, might be used. With
Specific this might be made to stand out in clear view the
Instruction. general necessity for law and government, the duties of a citizen, and the governmental machinery, in outline only, of the nation and the state.

In the latter half of the year, the term before graduation, some definite outline of municipal governmental machinery might be given. This has already been dwelt upon incidentally. No attempt should be made to do this exhaustively. The mechanism of a great city is too complex. Remember, too, that seven years lie between the boy's graduation and his first casting of a vote. The effort should rather be made to make the subject seem interesting and of great importance, giving the pupil a trend toward the after-school study of the subject, and helpful participation in the city's life itself.

To gather these threads together in one strand:

Moral and civic instruction should permeate the entire school life of the child. An effective part of this instruction will spring incidentally from the rich subject-content of the course.

In the daily opening exercises the words of good citizens, the holding up of great examples and incentives, the patriotic songs and recitations, are all a part of the civic instruction.

In the early study of nature, geography and biography, civic ideas spring from deep ground.

In the early and late contact with the best literature suited

to the young pupil—stories, poems, drama—the heart-throb is felt of civic emotion and of the best inner life of the people.

In the study of pictures and historic architecture, ideas of civic beauty and order are in-breathed. In the study of science and invention, of geometry and arithmetic, an exact and honest civic conscience may be aroused. The electricity leads to the lighting and transit power of the city; the mathematics to the finance and comptrollership.

The local history is the beginning of instructed citizenship. The country's history is the story of state and national association and government. The historic biography has for its keynote civic virtue. The English history contains all this, in another setting; enables, by comparison, the pupil to comprehend development, and gives a critical standard. It should do away with prejudice, and may stir the first sense of world-citizenship.

All this, and how much there is, is involved in the incidental teaching of civics.

As to the systematic:

In the sixth year, a simple reading-book on the subject will set these civic ideas in order.

In the seventh year may be a review and a comparative enrichment.

In the eighth year, follows a sketch of the activities and the mechanism of state and national government, with a short, intense study of the municipality, its departments, officers and ideals.

Such, made luminous by the teacher, seems to me a sufficient presentation of the subject of national, state and municipal civics, of citizenship, for the elementary schools.

Student Self-Government

By **GEORGE H. MARTIN**, Boston
Secretary, Massachusetts Board of Education

There is a widespread feeling that the public schools are not doing all that they might do to prepare their pupils for the activities and responsibilities of adult citizenship.

While admitting that the ordinary school virtues—punctuality, obedience, order and industry—are primary qualifications for citizenship, it is urged that these virtues being acquired under artificial conditions do not become sufficiently ingrained to withstand successfully the strain of adult life.

A public school has the form of an absolute monarchy. The relation of teacher and pupil is that of ruler and ruled. The will of the teacher is the only law. To have all one's actions regulated during the whole period of childhood and youth by the will of another, is thought to unfit a person to become a satisfactory member of a society in which freedom of the will is a basic principle.

The Public School an Absolute Monarchy.

School government often creates antagonisms between the ruler and the ruled. They assume the position of contending opponents. Pupils while yielding obedience to school laws, acquire no respect for them, and as they grow older come to see in law-breaking a sign of superior courage, and are ready to condone and to shield, if not to encourage, lawlessness. The numberless cases of insubordination and the frequent outbreaks in high schools and colleges are pointed to as sustaining this contention.

Various schemes have been contrived to remedy the negative insufficiency and the positive evils of the traditional school government.

One of these schemes, called by its author, "Cooperative School Government; or the Citizen and Tribune Plan," was

worked out in theory and applied in practice by Principal John T. Ray, of the John Crerar Grammar School, in Chicago. This was a school of about eight hundred pupils.

The Ray Plan of School Government.

The motto adopted to represent the spirit and purpose of the plan was: "Government of the students, by the students, for the students."

The following is a condensed statement of the main features of the plan: A constitution is drawn by the principal and submitted to the pupils for adoption. Having accepted it, a body of citizens is formed in each class-room comprising those who are willing to accept the conditions and submit themselves to the jurisdiction of the student-body. No pupil is required to become a citizen, but the badge and the honors which distinguish citizens, and the isolation which accompanies non-participation, serve to bring most if not all of the pupils into the organization.

The officers are senators and tribunes, tribunes being class officers, and senators being school-officers, chosen by the classes as their representatives. There is a president of the senate, chosen by the vote of the whole school, who is the chief executive officer of the community. These officers are all chosen by the pupils at times and for terms prescribed by the constitution.

The chief duty of the officers is to see that good order is maintained in and about the school, that is, to regulate the school conduct of the pupils.

It is claimed for the system that by its use children become more considerate of the rights of others; that the number of incorrigible bad boys is diminished, public opinion of the pupils being more potent in restraining than the influence of the teacher; that such practices as cheating in examinations and using bad language have been uprooted; that children will expose wrongdoing; that citizenship and office-holding come to be recognized as honors worth having and worth exercising self-restraint to obtain.

The aim of this system is seen to be to train the children to enforce good order in school, in order that they may become law-abiding and law-enforcing citizens later. This is succinctly stated by Mr. Ray himself in an article in an educational journal.

"Give me," he says, "a community of men who through the whole eight or twelve years of their school life were trained to enforce good order and to assist in the maintenance of right conduct in the school community as faithfully as did the teacher, and I will assure you that this body of men will see that the statutory law is enforced, and they will be men of active influence for right in their community."

This system can be worked in part in any single class room in any school, and such use has been made of it in many parts of the country.

Another plan, much more elaborate, and designed to teach the form of municipal government as well as to maintain school order, is the "School City," devised by Wilson L. Gill, LL. B.

In this system a city charter is drawn by the principal and submitted to the school for acceptance. It simulates a real city charter more or less closely in its general form and in the provisions which it makes for organization. There are the usual legislative and executive officers—a city council chosen from small subdivisions called wards, a mayor, a treasurer, a sheriff, an attorney, and several judges.

There are departments of police, health, fire, public works, etc. There are frequent elections where the Australian ballot is used. The qualifications of electors and of officers, the time and mode of electing, the functions of the departments, the powers and duties of all officers, are minutely defined in the charter.

At the outset a set of ordinances prepared by the principal, and designed to regulate the conduct of the pupils, is adopted by the council and approved by the mayor, and so becomes the "law of the land." The laws are thus "self-imposed," and the government of the school comes to be with "the consent of the governed." The old monarchical form disappears, and the school becomes a true republic, "a counterpart in miniature" of the real city in whose activities the pupils will ere long be expected to participate. These are claims.

The same beneficent results in securing good order in school and a more satisfactory relation of the pupils to laws

limiting their freedom, which are claimed by Mr. Ray for his system, have been found to follow the use of the "School City."

In addition to these results, it is thought that the concrete exhibition of civil practices continued through a series of years is a good means of teaching "civics," a subject usually treated quite abstractly. To see continually persons bearing titles and insignia and exercising the functions of city officers; to feel the pressure of their official hand; still more to be such officers and exert the pressure, makes municipal government real and not a paper abstraction.

The system has met with much favor, notably in Philadelphia, where the study of the principles of municipal government is uncommonly popular; and the Franklin Institute of that city has awarded a gold medal to Mr. Gill for his invention, as a noteworthy contribution to civic well-being.

The criticism has been made that the system is too complicated, and therefore too burdensome for general use. Mr. Ray, the inventor of the other system, says of it:

Criticism and "The chief objection, to my mind, to this or any
Objections. other plan modeled after municipal or state government is the unnecessary machinery of government that takes both time and attention to run." "It seems to me that a knowledge of city or state government is not what trains for citizenship." "It is too complicated for any pupils but those of high schools or the more advanced grades of elementary schools."

Notwithstanding this criticism, the system has been in practice in the State Normal School in New Paltz, N. Y., in all grades from the lowest primary through the normal school.

Another objection that has been urged is that, in the school city, undue emphasis is placed upon the police side of city administration. The policeman, as in the real city, is the official most in evidence, and his office is the one most eagerly sought after by the children.

It would seem desirable to include among the aims of the school city some positive and constructive work for civic betterment, something which should broaden the thought of the pupils as to social needs, force them to exercise their judgment in plan-

ning school and neighborhood improvements, and train them to form some business habits in carrying out such plans.

The object of both the schemes which have been described is to foster a sense of social obligation, which is the first essential of good citizenship. The child needs to be taught that even as a child he cannot live for himself alone, that his own well-being is inextricably interwoven with the well-being of others, that he is affected by their acts and they by his, and that there is a mutual obligation to self-restraint and to active service.

The School City is more fully described in a book entitled "The Gill System of Moral and Civic Training," published by the Patriotic League, New Paltz, N. Y. The other system is outlined in a booklet entitled "Democratic Government of Schools," by Principal John T. Ray, of the John Crerar Grammar School, Chicago, Ill.

The School City as a Form of Student Government

By Rev. THOMAS R. SLICER, New York
Trustee New York City Club

There is something fundamentally opposed in the two words "education" and "discipline." Discipline necessarily implies repression and restraint; whilst education presupposes that the mind has either "led out" from it what is in it, or is itself led out to that which is for it. The ideal situation, therefore, would be that which affords the widest scope for education, and requires the least interference by discipline. We can all remember when the method of the half-instructed teacher was that which was used by the ignorant farmer with respect to his colts. "Breaking the colt" was the great event of the farm season. The colt was usually broken, sometimes past mending, and the thing which he had most impressed upon him was the occasion for fear. Now the great stock farms are equipped with kindergartens for colts, and primary schools above the kindergarten, and secondary education to succeed, and they are graduated often knowing more than their owners.

The school more and more declines from the absolute monarchy which it once was; if that indeed can be called a decline in which government gathers its authority from the consent of the governed. The school city as a form of student government is therefore essentially a protest against the monarchical idea in education. It seeks to reduce the necessity for discipline, indeed to eliminate it so far as may be, and to give all the time, attention and effort to the legitimate processes of education. It assumes that the student is capable of self-government in the interest of self-improvement. It puts a premium upon learning by the same process that in life a premium is put upon any other acquisition. The community that governs itself best is freest

to acquire that which good government makes possible. In the city, so in the school, when resource of time, strength, and means must be devoted to the defective and delinquent classes, the rights of the right-minded are in the same proportion imperiled.

The School City does more than this, for it assumes that the child is to become a citizen. If the child is a girl she at least has

The School City. the interests of a citizen, if not all a citizen's rights. It therefore is a part of education to familiarize the young mind with the processes

of municipal administration, in the presence of which its whole life is to be spent. It does not negative this idea that the teacher often does not know the thing which the School City is set to teach; for the teacher, like the average citizen, is usually ignorant of anything except the theory of government, and is not much instructed in the details of what every citizen ought to know as to the administration of the city in which he lives. This may be easily tested by asking any group of people living in a city, what service they have the right to demand of the Police Department, or the Health Department. The violations of ordinances as they appear in the lower courts are violations, for the most part, because of the ignorance of the ordinary citizen of what he must do to keep the law, and what he may have from the law, of which he is not only the beneficiary, but one of the framers by right of his sovereign citizenship.

Lord Rosebery recently said the most interesting field of study for the statesman is the municipality. The School City is the organization of a school in whole or in part as a municipality. The officers of the School City are usually identical in name, function, and method of election with those whom the child is supposed to recognize as authority in the city in which he lives. The charter of the School City is apt to be better than the charter of the city in which the child lives, for the charter prepared by Mr. Wilson L. Gill has achieved a distinction which few city charters have been able to reach, in that it is a body of organic law uninvaded by the details which have been the cause of confusion and misunderstanding and contradiction in so many charters of American cities. It accomplishes at once what the National Municipal League has sought to accomplish, by making

a model charter which should, as has been said, be a body of organic law for any city, leaving the details of special application to the rules of departments and ordinances. The effect of this achievement in the case of the School City is to simplify the operation of the plan by leaving it unencumbered by unnecessary detail.

The School City laws may be thus summarized:

SCHOOL CITY LAWS

CHAPTER I. THE GENERAL CITY LAW.

Do to others as you would wish them to do to you. This is the natural law, without which no popular government can succeed, and it is the general law of this School City, to which all other laws and regulations must conform.

CHAPTER II. THINGS PROHIBITED.

ARTICLE 1. Do not to others that which you would not wish them to do to you.

ORDER.

ARTICLE 2. Anything which disturbs the order in halls, classrooms or in any place within the jurisdiction of the School City is prohibited.

ARTICLE 3. Anything which is profane, rude, intentionally unkind or impolite is prohibited.

CLEANLINESS.

ARTICLE 4. Anything which detracts from the neat and orderly appearance of our School City is prohibited.

HEALTH.

ARTICLE 5. Anything which detracts from the healthful conditions of our School City is prohibited.

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE PROPERTY.

ARTICLE 6. Anything which mars or destroys property in our School City is prohibited.

CHAPTER III. DUTIES.

ARTICLE 1. Every citizen is in duty bound to call the attention of the authorities to any violation of the laws of this School City.

CHAPTER IV. PUNISHMENTS.

ARTICLE 1. Any citizen violating any law of this School City shall be subject to punishment not less than a reprimand, and not greater than a withdrawal of the rights of citizenship.

ARTICLE 2. No punishment shall be carried into execution before it has been approved by the principal of the school and then it must be put promptly into effect.

CHAPTER V. OFFICERS.

ARTICLE 1. The Director of Public Safety, with consent of the Mayor, shall appoint one chief of police for the school and one captain of police and four policemen for each room. Appointments before going into effect must be approved by the City Council.

CHAPTER VI. TERMS OF OFFICE.

ARTICLE 1. The term of office of all officers, unless otherwise provided, shall be until the next general election, and until their successors are appointed or elected.

ARTICLE 2. Captains of police shall serve two weeks and policemen one week, unless sooner removed for cause by the Director of Public Safety.

It will be seen by this summary of laws, that the principal has not gone out of business, but occupies the position of a court of last resort, to which any citizen may appeal; and indeed the School City can only succeed when the teacher is competent to direct its operations, to supply its deficiencies, and to give time, attention, and real interest to the experiment in the school.

The School City itself, as organized by Mr. Gill and put in practice, as shall hereafter appear, is no longer an experiment; it is an accomplished fact marked by a brilliant success. If the scheme seem elaborate as compared with other methods, it may be said that **The School City no longer an Experiment.** it is only chargeable with this defect in so far as the community is more elaborate in its operations than a family. A "dame's school," as the phrase used to be, was easily governed by the personal affection of the children for the benignant personality that presided over the little group. But when in place of the little school, as many of us remember it, you substitute a public school of thirty-five hundred pupils, you have replaced the familiarity of the home and its close contact of teacher and pupil by a great aggregation of human beings, which by its very number prohibits personal contact and usually exceeds regard of administration. In so great a number, however warm the heart may be at the center of the group, the margins are so remote as to have passed into an entirely different climate. The discipline secured by the old method in a great group like this is marvelous to behold; but it is the discipline of an army, and not the self-government of a community.

The objection is made by superficial observers of the School City that the children are early introduced into the vicious methods of elections, and are excited to an unnatural competition for office. This is mentioned because it almost always appears among the inquiries with respect to the work of the School City. In practice this objection has no force. The child does not cease to be a child, with all a child's inexperience and the instincts and tendencies that are led up from the lower conditions of life into the human. There is a distinct tendency in the School City to promote mutual care rather than competitive ambition; and this great good is added beside: that the offences against childhood by children fall immediately under the eye of the officials of the School City, when they would ordinarily be hidden from the eye of the most vigilant teacher.

The system has been now in operation for ten years or more, through all grades of instruction and all conditions of student life. Curiously enough, its most signal successes

Ten Years' Operation. have been found in a Normal School, in the schools of a city which has recently been called "corrupt and contented," and in the newly devised scheme of public education in the Island of Cuba. That it should signally succeed in these three widely diverse conditions, shows that it has great flexibility and an undeniable relation to child nature without reference to its local surroundings.

The Gill School City has been in operation for several years in the Normal School at New Paltz, New York. Under date of December 15th, 1903, the Principal of the State Normal School at New Paltz, New York, Mr. Myron T. Scudder, writes:

"The School City organized in this school four years ago is in vigorous operation, and is a powerful factor in our daily work.

The Success at New Paltz. To me it is simply indispensable as an aid in school management, and I would not think for a moment of dropping it or of substituting some other form of organization. The participation of students in the management of the school is essential in any scheme of American education where children are to be trained and fitted to carry out the kind of government and fill the

responsibilities outlined in Lincoln's Gettysburg address, and I consider the School City the best scheme ever devised for giving to our young people the kind of training that they need so much in these particulars."

The instructor in psychology in the same Normal School, Janet E. Graham, reinforces this statement as follows:

"Especially is it noteworthy that the usual machinery of school organization has for the most part been left to stand idle, and the student body left largely free from arbitrary restraint to develop as individuals and collectively such resources as have lain within it. Once, some of us would have looked for serious results of such freedom, but they have not followed. The school is successfully governed, for the most part, by itself, better governed than it could be by any force from without, because governed with less of antagonism and more ready co-operation, with less of mechanical routine and more of spontaneity and life; better governed not only in the sense of being restrained, for restraint is not the only element in good government, but better governed too in the sense of being set actively at work for the good of the whole."

These testimonies as to the value to the school of this form of student government are not contradicted in any of the schools in which the plan has been successfully applied.

Still another teacher in the State Normal School at New Paltz points out that the School City is practicable by the following summary:

"In saving time for both teachers and pupils; as a form of government to preserve order, and thus relieve the teachers to a large extent of that element of labor; in arousing and maintaining an interest in the study of citizenship and civic government; as a means of shaping the character of the pupils; as a pretty accurate thermometer to show the degree of the warmth of the teacher's interest in the pupils and enthusiasm for the educational welfare of the school."

If we look to the other extreme of this experiment in the schools of Cuba, we find, under circumstances totally different, a testimony strongly confirming the estimate of the Normal School group.

Mr. Wilson L. Gill was invited by General Leonard Wood, Military Governor of Cuba, to come to Havana and to inaugurate, in connection with the plans of education for the Island of Cuba, the School City as a form of student government.

The General Inspector of Schools in Cuba, Prof. E. B. Wilcox, Ph. D., writes, under date of November 8th, 1901, that he returned to Havana from a tour of inspection in the Island of Cuba, greatly depressed at the outlook; that he met Mr. Gill, understood his method, "and rejoiced that what I considered the most difficult, if not hopeless problem in the school work here had been solved. These peculiar conditions (in Cuba) had made school discipline, if enforced by the teachers, utterly impossible; but by means of the School City the school children, guided by the teachers, successfully discipline themselves." He adds, "I believe that this work of Mr. Gill is to become one of the great powers for good of this century, not only for America, but for all the civilized world." He urges the inauguration of this system throughout the Cuban schools, and holds that it would reflect great credit upon the Executive of the Educational Department "for having given this people the best opportunity for learning to govern themselves morally and politically."

In a report for 1900, the Commissioner of Public Schools of Cuba, Lieutenant M. E. Hanna, records his conviction that the work has passed the experimental stage, and that the general introduction of the method will give the best of practical results.

The Secretary of Public Instruction, the Hon. Enrique Jose Varona, two years later than the above report, namely, January, 1902, reports to the Military Governor that the great problem of moral education through the school, "which rightly overweighs at present all other pedagogic problems, has inspired a thoroughly American invention, the School City. Its author, Mr. Wilson L. Gill, was called by me to this island, and has devoted himself with the greatest earnestness to the planting in the different schools of this organization, to which he has given so suitable a name. Notwithstanding the great difficulties this idea has to meet in a medium so poorly prepared as ours, Mr. Gill has laid the foundations of the work with a constancy worthy

of all praise. He has actually established fifty School Cities in Havana. The system is in operation at Cienfuegos. In this latter place the President of the School Board introduced additions to the system, establishment of postal service, and two additional officers, the Sanitary Chief and the Chief of Ornato, the latter being to encourage school and city ornamentation by various means, including the planting and care of trees and flowers."

Through a long report, covering various points of observation in the Island of Cuba, there is unqualified commendation by the Secretary of Public Instruction, of the system in use.

The then Military Governor himself, General Leonard Wood, in 1902 says, "I can say without reserve that the experience in Cuba justifies the strong indorsements **General Wood's** of the School City plan. It tends to develop **Testimony.** the child's idea of his civic responsibilities, and I believe will send him out from school much better fitted to assume the duties of the citizen of a large republic."

We have thus shown at two extremes—the normal school and the newly-organized public school system of Cuba—the effect of the School City as a method of student government. Let us now take a representative American city, the City of Philadelphia, where a careful investigation of the methods of the School City was inaugurated by the Franklin Institute, and where, after its thorough investigation, Mr. Wilson L. Gill was awarded the Elliott-Cresson medal "in recognition of the merits and effectiveness of the system of civic education invented by him."

In the city of Philadelphia the School City has been established in thirty schools within the past eighteen months. Only briefest comment from the principals of some of these schools may be given.

The Philadel- From the Hollingsworth Primary School, which organized the School City five years in advance of the investigation by the Franklin Institute, the principal testifies that the method "is thoroughly successful and satisfactory; that the greatest good accomplished by the School City is the moral atmosphere which it creates; that the children learn a great deal of

their city government, the manner of conducting elections, the duties of civic officers, Mayor, Councilmen, etc.; that they learn respect for law for law's sake, doing right because it is right, and are made more kind and polite to one another in their daily intercourse."

The Supervising Principal of the Norris J. Hoffman School, in Philadelphia, confesses to have been a convert to the system, in these words:

"At first I did not believe it could succeed permanently in any school. After it had been in operation a short time, I believed it might succeed in some schools. Now I am convinced that it may succeed in any school. I felt that the Judiciary could not be made to work. A child could not be judicial, I said. But three of our pupils have proved to be excellent Judges, and the Judiciary is perhaps the strongest part of our city government. The School City is based on the principle of the self-government of the child. Through it the children are working out for themselves the idea of government and of right living."

The Principal of the Wyoming Combined Grammar and Primary School writes:

"The effect on the general tone and demeanor of the school has been highly satisfactory to me. One of the best indications is the lessening of the number of cases brought into court. Offences are on the decrease, because the pupils are becoming more self-controlled and better behaved. The children take a great pride in their organization, a live interest in its success. The spirit shown by the policemen has been admirable. At first I feared that petty jealousies and spites might interfere with the success of the system, but these cases have been very few. All the officers feel the responsibility placed upon them, and their duties are conscientiously performed."

The time allowed for this paper does not warrant extended quotation, we find additional confirmation of the quotations already made: In the reports of the Thomas Wood School, the Andrew T. Curtin School, the William McKinley School, the C. W. Shafer Combined School, the James Forten School, the Warren School Primary, the Germantown Combined School, the Webster School. Of this latter, its principal says: "The fact that the

School City has at once produced the practical results for which we have labored unsuccessfully for many years, forces into our minds a comparison between this system and that so long in vogue. The School City embodies a development of the law of self-government from the kindergarten continuously through the school life until the student emerges from the university into the larger citizenship. In the School City every tendency is toward encouraging the child to choose to do right, while the autocratic government attempts to compel him—with doubtful success or much failure—to do right."

The testimony in regard to the method established in Philadelphia, is so uniformly in favor of the School City as a form of

Uniformly	student government that it is not too much to
Favorable	hope that its effective continuance may develop
Testimony.	a form of civic interest which shall produce
	different and better results in a future generation
	than those which now obtain in the city of Phila-

delphia at large, of which the Mayor has stated that from 33½ per cent. to 45 per cent. of those who have the right to vote, do not attend primaries and shirk jury duty. At a recent election in Germantown, it is reported that out of twelve thousand possible votes, only five thousand were deposited at the polls.

It is interesting to note that the system is as successful where the children are of foreign, as where they are of American parentage. In one of the Philadelphia schools, the Mayor of the School City is a Russian Jewish lad of twelve years. He reads and speaks Russian, Roumanian, German, French, Turkish, and English, and has been elected by his fellows to be the Mayor of the School City, in which he shows what is common to all his group, an enthusiastic Americanism. If these new Americans are not to become the prey of the designing older American, exactly in the ratio in which their enthusiasm for America leads them to think of politics as a game in which they are to succeed instead of a science in which they are to be instructed, it would seem desirable that they should have early instilled into their minds the idea that relation to this country, and especially to the city in which they live, involves duties as well as opportunities, and obligations as well as privileges.

We must conclude from the survey of the School City as a form of student government that it is philosophically sound, that it is morally effective, that as a method of school discipline it is practical, and as a method of instruction in civics it is pictorial and thoroughly illustrative. All teachers who have attempted the teaching of civics in a school have encountered the difficulty of making the child who is text-perfect in the definitions of the manual of civics, intelligently understand what the functions of government mean in practice. Just as many a student has been taught navigation who cannot sail a boat, and surveying who never handled a theodolite, and the mathematics of astronomy without being able to recognize the stars, so the teaching of civics by definition fails of all practical effectiveness. The school which becomes a city, as it is inevitably a community, gives by practical experiment visible demonstration of those definitions in which the text-book abounds, and which it is the despair of the teacher to make real.

Municipal Taxation

By **LAWSON PURDY**, New York

Secretary, New York Tax Reform Association

By statute the general property tax prevails throughout the United States, with very few exceptions, and local revenue is supposed to be raised by a uniform tax equally imposed on all property. This system is based on the theory that in order to be equal, taxation must be equally imposed on everything that has value. To-day the theory is completely discredited. Hardly a voice is raised in its favor, and the so-called system is a wreck, only held together at all by constitutional restrictions and inherited prejudices. The first problem that confronts us is how to give the general property tax a decent burial.

The constitutions of at least twenty-four states contain limitations upon the power of the legislature which render impossible the adoption of any sensible system of taxation. The constitution of Ohio is as bad as **Constitutional Limitations.** the worst, and contains a typical restriction:—

“Taxes must be equal and uniform, and imposed on all property both real and personal.” The legislatures of states whose constitutions contain such restrictions seem afraid to abolish the restrictions, and have proposed to the people at frequent intervals ill-devised amendments providing for an increase of power to the legislature. Such an amendment was proposed to the people of Minnesota a year ago, providing at great length that the legislature might impose an income tax and might do various other things. The people very properly rejected it. What is needed is an elimination from all constitutions of any restraints upon the power of the legislatures to deal with taxation. The constitution of the United States protects our fundamental rights, and protects them adequately. Why the people of a state in which the laws are about as bad as they can be should be afraid of freedom to change for the better is amazing. The constitutions of New York, Connecticut

and Massachusetts are practically silent on the subject of taxation. And in some respects those states are far in advance of states which have restrictions. The only danger to which they are subjected by the absence of constitutional restrictions is the danger of having legislation imposed on them like that of Ohio and many of the western states. The first step forward in all the states of the Union but eight should be an amendment to the constitution eliminating all matter relating to taxation.

Local taxation is complicated by state taxation, chiefly because in most of the states a tax is imposed for state purposes upon property as assessed by local officials.

Local Taxation This leads to undervaluation by local assessors so as to reduce their share of the state revenue.

State Taxation. Several states have succeeded in providing and others are attempting to provide sufficient revenue for the state by special taxes laid on selected subjects at unvarying rates. As a sole reliance for state revenue this is a very bad substitute, because it lacks elasticity. Sometimes the revenue is excessive and there is a mad scramble for appropriations which it is difficult to cut down when hard times reduce the state's income. Sometimes the revenue is insufficient and the legislatures strive to invent new taxes, generally bad ones, and disturb business conditions.

At least part of the state revenue should always be raised by an elastic form of taxation which can be increased or diminished in accordance with the need for revenue, and

Apportionment whose incidence will be felt by the taxpayers. **of State Taxes.** Such an elastic system was proposed four years ago by the New York Tax Reform Association,

and endorsed by the New York Chamber of Commerce and other bodies. It provides for the apportionment of so much state revenue as may be required in excess of that derived from special taxes, to the several counties of the state in proportion to the revenue raised for all purposes by and within each county. By this plan, if the total local revenues amount to one hundred million dollars, and the local revenue of a certain county amounts to one million dollars, that county would contribute one per cent.

of whatever amount the state may need. This plan was adopted by the State of Oregon, by a somewhat imperfect statute, in 1901. The Oregon law is unjust in that the apportionment is based upon county revenue, and not upon the revenue of each county and all the taxing districts within it. The result is that in Oregon, as I predicted, the rich counties will pay less than before, and the poor counties more. As a matter of justice the exact reverse should have been the case. Under the usual plan of raising state revenue by tax upon all forms of property, the poor counties pay more than their share, because in poor counties the personal property is generally more fully assessed, and improvements on land form a larger proportion of the total value of real estate than in populous cities. This increases the burden of taxation upon industry, and to that extent relieves monopoly. If the apportionment is based upon total local revenue, cities will pay more than they do now, and rural districts will pay less, for in cities wealth per capita is greater, and the tax rate is usually higher. A statistical study merely proves what anyone familiar with economic law would naturally deduce—that an apportionment based on revenue is very nearly equivalent to apportionment based on monopoly values. Even if this plan of apportionment of state revenue were not more just, it would still be a vast improvement, because of the necessity of divorcing state from local revenue, and the evils attendant upon raising all state revenue by inelastic taxes. In any event the amount to be raised is small; much too small to cause any undue economy in local expenditures. Indeed the tendency to economical administration of local affairs which would result from the apportionment of state taxes on the basis of local revenue is a desirable feature of this method of apportioning the burden of supporting the state. In the State of New York all the expenses of the state are only about 15 per cent. as much as the total expense of supporting local governments. There are very few states in which more than one dollar in seven is required for state purposes, and in many states a large part of the state revenue is now raised by special taxes.

When constitutional limitations are removed and state revenue is provided without the imposition of a state tax on

Reform in Local Taxation property as assessed by local officials, the way is clear for needed changes in the methods of raising local revenue.

The chief source of local revenue is now and always will be the taxation of real estate. Real estate now pays from 75 per cent. to 99 per cent. of all local revenue. On this account alone it is of the utmost importance that the assessment of real estate should be as nearly equitable as human machinery can make it. The prevailing practice of disobedience to the law, which requires assessment at full value, or market value, or cash value, renders an equitable assessment an impossibility. After a long struggle the policy has been adopted in the City of New York of assessing real estate as the law directs, and in spite of an insufficient appropriation and a very inadequate number of assessors, the improvement effected in two years has been tremendous. At first there was some opposition, which came chiefly from those who, as one of the tax commissioners said, were afraid that justice would be done; but now the best informed real estate men in the city are almost unanimously agreed that the policy is sound, and that the assessments on the average are much more equitable than in the past. In the New York Herald, of April 6th, Mr D. Phoenix Ingraham is reported to have said:—“If it can be carried out fairly and accurately full valuation assessment of real property in New York City is the best thing that could be devised. It will do away with the possibility of favoritism and suspicion of dishonesty. Considering the salaries paid the assessors I am almost amazed at the correctness of the last assessment. It was generally fair and accurate, and the rate of taxation kept the total burden to a minimum.”

Mr. John N. Golding said:—“I believe the law states that property shall be assessed for its full valuation. I believe in carrying out the law. I think this system is preferable to the old system, where it was supposed that the assessment was sixty per cent. of the value of the property. The old way of assessing property seemed to me to be ridiculous. You would find some property assessed for eighty per cent. of what it would bring in the market and others about thirty per cent., but establishing

what the assessors presume to be the full market value is beneficial to all parties concerned."

The criticisms of real estate men reported in the same paper really relate to details, and not to the principle. They complain that there are not enough assessors; that they are not sufficiently paid; and that the work cannot, under these circumstances, be accurately performed. All this is true, and the next step in the City of New York must be to secure a much larger appropriation for the Tax Department and increase the number of assessors and the salaries of the chief deputies.

One year ago a further improvement was adopted in the City of New York by requiring the assessors to state separately the value of each parcel of land exclusive of improvements. This has been in practice for many years in Massachusetts and a few other states. Our New York plan only differs in this, that while in other states the land value is separately stated, the improvements are also separately stated. In the City of New York we have only two columns of the record for values, in which are set down the land value and the total real estate value.

This is an economy of clerical labor, and, we believe, positively exerts an influence on the assessors to keep them from over-valuing buildings. In strict logic there is, of course, no difference between the requirement to state the value of land, of the improvements, and the total, and to state only the value of the land and the total: but when the assessor is confronted with a building, producing a revenue, which would cost thousands of dollars to reproduce, he is reluctant to state directly that the building has no value, even when, as a matter of fact, he knows and everyone acquainted with the property knows that the building adds nothing whatever to the selling value of the property, because it is no longer suited to the site. Even under our New York plan of separately stating the land value but not the improvement value, it is evident that buildings have been over-valued in proportion to the land. A comparison with results in Boston, where assessments are well made, leads to the belief, however, that buildings are less over-valued in the city of New York than they are in Boston.

The requirement of the separate statement of land value has met with cordial approval by real estate experts. Mr. Golding, whom I have already quoted, said: "I think a separation of the land and building values a most excellent one. It enables the owners to see how the assessors arrive at their conclusions." Mr. Franklin Lord, of Daniel Birdsall & Co., is recorded as follows: "The plan of assessing the improvements separately seems to me to be absolutely necessary for the proper working of the new method, because without it we would still be unable to find out what part of an assessment applied to the land, and it would still be possible to favor a property by asserting that the inequality was due to the value of the improvements. If the value of the improvements was not stated, no one could say what comparison might be made between one parcel of land and another. I believe as soon as you get used to the new order of things there will be very few found who would be willing to return to the old chaotic way where everybody talked in a hazy way about a forty per cent. basis and a sixty per cent. basis; and where commissioners when pushed for an answer on the subject would reply that they recognized no comparison, but simply assessed the property for what they thought it ought to be assessed."

A still further improvement was effected by an amendment to the city charter which requires the publication annually of the complete record of real estate assessments. The

Publication of Real Estate Assessments.	publication will be made by sections into which the city is divided for the purposes of assessment. Each section contains from ten to thirty thousand parcels, and will be published separately; and persons interested can buy, for a few cents, the assessment roll of one or more sections, or of the whole city. This will render comparisons very easy, and disseminate a knowledge of assessed values which will tend toward constant improvement in the accuracy of assessments.
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The removal of constitutional restrictions and the abolition of a state tax on all property locally assessed will make possible a reform without which progress is well-nigh impossible. You all know, and all students of the subject know, that in every state we are attempt-

ing to tax property which ought never to be taxed at all. On this subject city sentiment is naturally far in advance of country sentiment; yet country sentiment rules our legislatures. So long as there must be one rule for the whole State, progress can only be made at the pace of the slowest. With local option progressive communities will furnish object lessons to the unprogressive, and progress will be rapid.

The few adherents of the general property tax theory always excuse a failure of the law on the ground that it is not sufficiently stringent. They want every man to be required
Personal to give a statement of all his property under
Property Tax. oath, and in states where there is a severe listing system, complaint is made of the incompetence, or worse, of those charged with enforcing the law. They are generally very ignorant of the lessons of experience, or are so wedded to a theory that they refuse to accept any experience as a guide to action.

In Ohio there is the most efficient and minute scheme of assessing all classes of property which has been devised in any state. Every citizen is bound under oath to make a complete return of his property in detail. If he declines to make the statement required by law, a penalty of fifty per cent. is added. In addition to this they have what is called the tax inquisitor law, which gives the county commissioners power to make contracts with persons who may give information which will result in personal property being placed on the assessment roll. Under the act passed in 1885 applicable to Hamilton and Cuyahoga counties, the amount authorized to be paid to informers was 25 per cent.; and under the general act passed in 1888 applicable to the entire State, the amount authorized to be paid was 20 per cent. of the amount recovered. The efforts of the tax inquisitors are principally devoted to ascertaining what foreign stocks and bonds are improperly withheld from the returns. The result of the severe listing law and the tax inquisitor law has been the steady shrinkage in the assessed value of personal property.

In 1893 the Hon. William McKinley, then governor of the state, appointed a tax commission of four members, two being Republicans and two Democrats, who when appointed expressed

themselves as in favor of continuing the tax upon personal property. As a result of their investigations they said in their report:

"The system as it is actually administered results in debauching the moral sense. It is a school of perjury. It sends large amounts of property into hiding. It drives capital in large quantities from the state. Worst of all, it imposes unjust burdens upon various classes in the community; upon the farmer in the country, all of whose property is taxed because it is tangible; upon the man who is scrupulously honest, and upon the guardian and executor and trustee, whose accounts are matters of public record."

The Hon. E. A. Angell, who was a member of the Ohio State Tax Commission, in an article published in *The Independent* of February, 1898, said:

"Let us compare the returns of intangible property in Hamilton county thirty years ago with the corresponding returns at the present time:

1866	\$17,460,477
1867	17,199,669
1868	15,455,611

The corresponding figures for the present time are as follows:

1894	\$5,722,789
1895	6,036,935
1896	5,389,350

"The amount of money returned in Hamilton county in 1866 was \$6,778,883, while in 1896 it was \$1,097,283. The amount of money on deposit in Cleveland banks in 1896 is about \$70,000,000. and of this there was returned for taxation in 1896 \$1,741,129. It must be borne in mind that the population and wealth of these cities have marvellously increased within this period. Cincinnati was a city of about 160,000 in 1860; it has now more than 400,000. Its growth in wealth is more striking than the growth in population. So too of Cleveland. Any discussion would be inadequate which did not take these facts into consideration. There are on deposit in the banks throughout the state about \$190,000,000; of this \$135,000,000 or \$140,000,000 are in the five city counties. These city counties return for taxation about \$5,000,000 in

money, while the remainder of the state returns \$29,000,000 out of perhaps \$60,000,000. So of credits and stocks and bonds. The whole amount of stocks and bonds returned in the whole state is but \$7,000,000. Thirty years ago it was over \$12,000,000. It is evident at once, therefore, that the informer scheme does not make the general property tax effective. It has utterly broken down in Ohio as elsewhere. The merest bagatelle is reached outside of visible, tangible property."

In view of these facts, when anyone asks how personal property can honestly be taxed, I am reminded of Elder Skaats, in "Vesty of the Basins." At the Sunday class meeting the question was propounded, "How can we escape trouble?" Said Elder Skaats, after pondering deeply, "By gum, there ain't no way. I have been married twice, and I know."

In the State of Ohio they are obliged by the constitution to tax their own power to borrow money for the benefit of the state, and of municipalities, with the result that they must pay high rates of interest to foreign lenders. The United States was saved from this absurdity by a wise decision of the Supreme Court. (*Weston vs. City Council*, 2 Peters, 469.) Chief Justice Marshall, in his opinion, said: "The tax on government stock is thought by this court to be a tax on the contract, a tax on the power to borrow money on the credit of the United States, and consequently to be repugnant to the constitution." That sound,

logical decision, rendered over seventy years ago, overthrows every argument for the taxation of debts of all kinds, whether state, municipal, or personal; but it is only through local option that we are likely to be able in the near future to abolish the taxation of debts in the State of New York, or in most of the states of the Union.

In the State of New York the rural constituencies still cling to the taxation of debts secured by mortgage of real estate, in spite of the fact that the taxation of mortgage debts is about the meanest kind of double taxation there is, for it singles out a man who is in debt to impose on him a burden without resultant benefit to anyone. If by stringent provisions of the law, all mortgages are taxed, there is a certain equality in the iniquity;

but the general rule is that only occasional mortgages are placed on the assessment roll. In the State of New York the interest rate on mortgages is increased only by a portion of the tax, and some owners of mortgage debts who escape taxation profit by a higher interest rate than they would otherwise receive, which all mortgagors must pay; while some mortgagees who are too honest or too ignorant to escape, pay the full tax and submit perforce to a confiscation of their property.

The impression prevails in some quarters that the exemption of mortgage debts from taxation would be a special benefit to those who lend money. So far from this being the case it seems probable that many who lend money on mortgage security and now escape taxation, would then receive a smaller net return by reason of the greater competition in the lending of money. The benefits would be so widely diffused that all classes in the community would share in them.

The slow progress we are making in reforming methods of taxation is due far more to ignorance than to any conflict of interests. Men in the country want to tax the rich man, and go about it in a way that is quite unsuccessful, and recoils with redoubled force upon themselves. Even in cities any demagogue who for the moment gets the ear of the people can get temporary popularity for schemes to tax department stores, to tax reserves of insurance companies, and other forms of wealth or agencies of trade or commerce. Every tax on the products of human labor or upon the processes of trade falls inevitably upon people in proportion as they consume; that is, such taxes are a burden inversely proportioned to the family income. What we need is smaller constituencies to educate, and object lessons which will educate the rest of the people by sheer compulsion.

In conclusion I will sum up the steps which lead to the shortest, easiest way to improve our local tax systems.

Abolish all constitutional restrictions on the power of the legislature to regulate taxation.

Do away with the necessity for uniform State taxation by apportioning State taxes in proportion to local revenue.

Give to every county the right within the general laws of the state to exempt from taxation any class of property, or

to proportionately reduce the assessment of any class of property.

As an immediate reform assess real estate annually, state the value of land separately, and publish the
Conclusions. assessment rolls in a convenient form.

With local option every community will be a debating society, and education which now halts and stumbles will advance with leaps and bounds. People who now fail to understand that taxation is of importance to them will demand enlightenment. The progress of a decade will exceed all the progress of the past one hundred years.

The Functions of the Municipality, with Special Reference to Public Services

By Professor JAMES MAVOR
University of Toronto

The development of municipal enterprise is for many reasons attracting much attention at present. These reasons do not lie on the surface; they can only be discovered and understood in any serious way by a study of general social and economic movements.

In France the process of restricting the powers of the local governments which had been going on during the eighteenth century was greatly accelerated under the first **Restriction of Empire**; and the process was continued under **Powers in the second Empire**. Since the establishment **France.** of the Republic a policy of decentralization has been more or less effectively carried out, and thus provincial and municipal authority has been largely reinstated. This recovery of civic authority has been accompanied by and has been productive of a revival of municipal enthusiasm, and public improvements have been going on in towns where civic life had been almost extinguished for a century. Ancient monuments, city gates, cathedrals and town halls are being intelligently restored and there is evident in the provincial towns a great access of civic pride.

In England the decay of municipal corporations which had been in progress at least from the beginning of the eighteenth century resulted, in the early years of the nineteenth century, in the so-called "reform of the **English municipal corporations.**" While the reform put **Reform.** an end to many abuses, it nevertheless seriously diminished local autonomy, and it was not until the policy of

devolution of parliamentary power was adopted, about 1880, that the tendency towards centralization was reversed.

The French and the English municipalities have thus slowly been recovering the quasi-independence which was lost largely through their own faults.

In the United States the history of the exercise of control by colonial, federal and state authority over the municipalities shews that there has been since colonial times a diminution of local autonomy and an increase of the authority of the state legislatures.¹

A study of recent legislation² will show in detail that there has been even of late little disposition to entrust the municipalities with enlarged powers. Alike as regards the power to incur debt, as regards sinking funds and as regards the extension of municipal trading, the state legislatures have rarely ventured to extend the powers of the city councils. The argument that increased responsibilities would result in increased uprightness and in the election to the city councils of a better class of aldermen does not seem so far to have had any material weight.

Apart from the constitutional aspects of the case it is important to notice the existing relations between the municipalities and the federal system as they have developed in practice. In a large number of the cities in the United States the political machinery alike for municipal, for state and for federal purposes is manipulated by the senators for the respective districts. The senator is aided by the local "boss" who looks after the details. The connection between the senate and the municipal administration is thus direct and immediate.

The federal, state and municipal patronage is all manipulated under the party system, whether Republican or Democratic.

Of late years exposures have been made in the law courts in Minneapolis and St. Louis, and exposures have been made in electoral campaigns in New York, Chicago, Philadelphia and

¹ The course of this is sketched in "Municipal Administration," by Professor J. A. Fairlie, (*passim*).

² Cf. N. Y. State Library Bulletins, 1891 and successive years.

Pittsburg. So long as this system exists there can be no widespread movement for increasing the functions and responsibilities of municipal governments. It is, moreover, noticeable that in cities where there is to be found least of this political influence, such as Baltimore for example, there is no enthusiasm for extension of civic responsibilities.

In the American municipalities corruption is not perhaps quite so rampant as it was, and even where it exists there is a great deal of healthy civic feeling which finds expression in many ways. Yet the tendency in the public mind, so far as one can discover, is to limit the powers of the city councils rather than to increase them. This tendency finds its most conspicuous current expression in an insistence upon the increase of the powers of the mayor. "Give the mayor complete authority over the council" is the common maxim of some reformers. The logical outcome of this maxim would of course be the abolition of the city council, and the surrender into the hands of the mayor of the municipal interests—an outcome which could not be described otherwise than as reactionary.

Such civic enthusiasm as exists in the United States has been promoted not by an access of local autonomy, but by other influences, chief among which may be recognized the mere fact of growth. Mere growth, varied as are the races which have contributed to it, has resulted in a certain variety of civic pride, which, besides resenting alleged underestimates of population, may even prepare the way for some more worthy emotion. The mere growth of the great cities has compelled their governments to deal in a scientific way with some of the problems which mere growth produces, and the magnitude of these operations has imbued the people with a kind of civic pride which, crude as it is, is not without value.

Although the extent to which the powers of the state government are exercised varies in different states, the principle that the state government has a right to give, without
Lack of Local hold or amend municipal charters is universally
Autonomy. admitted, and with this admission there appears
to fall any pretense of complete local autonomy.
The mediæval town, with its royal charters, for which it had often

paid in hard cash, was probably alike in theory and in practice more independent of the central government than is the modern town in Europe or America. Municipal government has become more uniform in consequence of this great change, but it has certainly become less imposing. With the loss of its independence and its individuality it has lost much of its dignity and probably also much of its integrity. Although the mediæval town was by no means free from corruption¹ and although in the eighteenth century municipalities were at once independent and corrupt, yet this corruption existed in an aggravated form probably only during the period of the decay of the municipal corporations.

In the United States, dependence of the municipal administrations on the state legislature is the general rule, and thus the municipalities are more or less always involved in general politics, for in order to secure any measure of municipal importance it is necessary for them to engage in the working of the political mechanism.

How far these conditions are responsible for the degradation of municipal politics is very difficult to determine. It seems reasonable, however, to infer that control by the state legislature of municipalities has rendered it inevitable that those who engage in municipal government should utilize the resources of party politics for the purpose of securing what they conceive to be fair treatment for the citizens. When this practice becomes chronic it is only a step to the exploitation of the city in the interests of political parties. While this appears evident to an impartial view, yet it would be hazardous to suggest that the course of history should be reversed suddenly and that local autonomy with complete freedom from state control and therefore from party politics, should be aimed at immediately and in all cases. Some cases at least must be excepted. To extend the power of local government might well be regarded as a blunder in the case for instance of a municipality in which local autonomy had already been abused

¹ The son of a Doge of Venice was for example found guilty of taking a bribe. He was severely punished.

by authority being vested in an incompetent or corrupt administration. State interference and legislation in municipal affairs may be regarded as a kind of penalty for past municipal laxity or for past municipal offences.

There is to be considered, however, the point of view that the solidarity of the modern democratic state demands uniformity of municipal government and that neither the greater and more aggressive municipalities nor the smaller and less experienced ones should be allowed to adopt a policy which might not only bring themselves to bankruptcy, but might bring the whole state into discredit. The permanent antagonism of rural and urban interests and the existence of inter-urban jealousy seem, moreover, to suggest the need of an arbiter, and the quasi-independence of the state suggests that that the state legislature should be that arbiter. There seems thus to be indisputable ground for at least some interference by the state in municipal affairs, if only to prevent municipalities from abusing their autonomy.

"We have a right to misgovern ourselves if we please," is a statement of claim to which general assent would hardly be given in the case of a city. Whether we look at the subject from the point of view that complete municipal autonomy, that is, freedom for the municipalities to do what they please, is in these days comparatively unsafe, or from the point of view that a municipality ought to exercise complete autonomy, it is important to discuss what is the nature of the functions proper to the municipality. If the municipality may do what it pleases, what ought it and what ought it not to do? If the municipality is controlled by the legislature, what ought the legislature to allow it to do and what ought it to prevent it from doing?

The industrial development which has conduced to the rapid building up of cities in the United States has been also responsible for a certain haphazard growth.

Haphazard People have been too busy with their own
Growth. affairs to regard seriously the affairs of the community and thus there has in some cases been complete disregard of sanitation, while natural beauty has been destroyed and no artificial beauty has been devised to take

its place. Only within recent years has the economic value of agreeable surroundings been realized by municipal governments in the United States. Yet healthful conditions are indispensable, and beautiful conditions are highly advisable. In a modern rapidly growing town both are expensive. The duties of providing the most perfect sanitation possible and providing public places and public buildings of the utmost beauty possible fall clearly into the hands of the municipality, because the one is an indispensable condition of a healthy population and the other of an energetic one. Whether, therefore, the municipality is autonomous or controlled, these duties are clearly the most important; and from the earliest times municipalities have undertaken these duties more or less effectively. These duties, simple in principle though complex in detail, may be regarded as the fundamental duties. Even the preservation of peace may be regarded from a modern point of view, as a state rather than as a municipal affair. The functions which municipalities assume in addition to the duties above mentioned, may be regarded in the light rather of privileges than duties; privileges, for example, to hold a market and to prevent anyone but certain persons bargaining in that market; privileges to coin money and to prevent others from doing so, etc., etc. These privileges, sometimes called franchises, were occasionally assumed by independent towns, but were in Europe usually granted by the king or other feudal superior. The extent to which the municipality might properly exercise franchises has always been and perhaps always will be a matter of dispute.

Prior to the reform of the municipal corporations in England, many of them exercised their franchises in a more or less tyrannous manner. The control over the people of the towns by the guilds, rendered effective by their share in municipal government, prevented or punished infringement of their monopolies; and the development of the cities was seriously impeded by these operations.

The "corporations" or trade guilds, whose powers in many cases are barely distinguishable from those of the municipal corporations properly so called, exercised their restrictive privileges in a manner that was not only subversive of liberty, but was

effective in retarding the development of invention and of spontaneous enterprise¹.

It seems worth while to ask seriously whether in handing over once more to the municipal governments monopolistic powers, those who purpose doing so are promoting a reaction? This reaction may lead us back to the corrupt decadent municipality of the eighteenth century with its regulation of all pecuniary transactions, its restrictive municipal and quasi-municipal monopolies and its tendency to arrest civic and industrial development.

With much toil the people threw these restrictions off and the great outburst of spontaneously organized co-operative industrial groups—otherwise, joint stock companies—called in the United States by the old name of corporations, was the result of that overthrowal.

It is quite true that the joint-stock company, otherwise the "corporation," may act as tyrannously as the municipal corporation; but its monopoly, if it has one, is not a legal monopoly. A watchful public authority may prevent and ought to prevent the exercise of tyranny by corporations as well as by individuals. If, however, the tyrannical body is the legally constituted public authority experience has shewn that even under a democratic form of government, and perhaps especially under such a form of government, the people have slender recourse.

The view has been advanced that the municipalities are face to face with a dilemma. Either the public services must be rendered by the municipality directly or the people must submit to be mercilessly fleeced by a rapacious corporation. This view can hardly be seriously maintained; but if it were, then even a rapacious corporation exposed to the weakness inherent in such corporations, exposed to the fluctuations of the markets and of inventions, and above all exposed to the criticism of the public as well as of the public authority, is on

¹ Witness the well-known case of the Incorporation of Hammermen and James Watt who carried out his improvements on the steam engine in the University of Glasgow, the precincts of which were inviolable.

the whole to be preferred in the long run to a public authority with all the weight of the law behind it, and all the influence of possession of the public purse and without the check of any organized criticism. The public authority is perhaps best to be considered as critic and inspector rather than as *entrepreneur*,

It would be idle to disguise the fact that in a large number of cities the corporations exercise a corrupt influence; but they are not necessarily inherently corrupt. It cannot be an agreeable incident to them or to their shareholders to have to give up a large part of their earnings for political campaign funds or for the bribery of individual municipal functionaries or councillors. Their excuse, viz., that they must pay in this way for the protection of their property, otherwise they would be despoiled by legislation, civic or state—libel as it is of popularly elected legislatures, would disappear if their contracts were settled and implemented on a purely commercial basis.

If this is too benevolent a hope, and if those who are corrupt must be corrupt still, what expectation can one form of the possibilities of municipal ownership? One has only to think of the serious risks of wholesale corruption which would be the result of the adoption of municipal ownership by New York, governed by Tammany, or by St. Louis, Cincinnati, Minneapolis, Pittsburg or Philadelphia. If the sacred obligations of hospitality had permitted, I might have added even Chicago.

Apart from the important current of opinion indicated by the Northern Securities case, in regard to federal control of corporations doing interstate business, the influence

State Control of recent state legislation in respect to the control of corporations deserves to be observed with
over Public care in the immediate future. It would appear
Service. as though there were a definite tendency for the

state governments to exercise increasing control over public service corporations. For some years Massachusetts has imposed stringent regulations against stock-watering and has otherwise exercised control over all joint-stock companies. Virginia organized in 1903 a state department for the purpose of granting charters to all corporations and for requiring these to render accounts of the capital, earnings and expenditure. There are railroad

commissions in New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Michigan, Minnesota, South Dakota and Arkansas,¹ and a gas and electric light commission in Massachusetts. These commissions regulate roads, rates, capital, etc. The effect of this system cannot as yet be fully seen. Much depends upon the personnel of the commissions. In some states the commissioners are not regarded with sufficient public respect nor are they sufficiently supported by the law courts to justify as yet an indisputably favorable judgment on the outcome of the method. On the other hand, in some states the commissioners inspire general respect and they are regarded alike by the public and by the corporations as acting fairly in the general interest. In Massachusetts, where the policy of entrusting the relations between the public and the public service corporations to state-appointed commissioners has been carried far, the plan is understood to have on the whole worked well.

It is clear that in Massachusetts the consequences of the adoption of this policy is that the powers of the municipalities have been limited and that the tendency is towards encouraging the rendering of public services by privately organized companies rather than by the municipalities and towards controlling these companies by state boards.

Perhaps nowhere in the world is there a city so favorably situated for an experiment in municipal ownership as Washington. The city of Washington is isolated by law.

Unique Possibilities of Washington, D. C.	Its government is answerable to Congress alone; its credit is practically that of the United States; its administration is above suspicion of corruption and its affairs are apparently altogether beyond the influence of politics.
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The commissioners of Washington have probably not specially concerned themselves with the theoretical aspects or with the history of municipal ownership; their business is to see that the public services of the city of Washington are performed in the most efficient and most economical way, acting as they do, not merely as trustees for the inhabitants of Washington, but as trustees for the inhabitants of the United States.

¹ The Dominion of Canada has recently established a Railway Commission.

They appear to find that the most efficient and most economical service is produced by contracting with skilled persons to do the work and by seeing that they live up to their contract. The result is unquestionably satisfactory to all parties. The services are well rendered. The companies are not harassed by threats of legislation: they know what is expected of them and they know that they have to do what is expected of them. The commissioners are not gas engineers and street railway managers, but they are effective critics and inspectors.

It is surely not too much to expect that sooner or later popularly elected municipal councillors will find it at once to be their duty and to be to the public advantage to act in a similar manner. If they did so there would be ample scope for their energies, the public services would be rendered more efficiently than is now the case, and the existing corrupt influences would give place to a wholesome atmosphere of honesty.

In nearly all the discussions upon municipal ownership mention is made of the case of the municipalities in England and Scotland which have undertaken municipal enterprises with what is alleged to be unequivocal success. There are, no doubt, some cases of successful municipal enterprises, but these are as a rule cases in which the enterprises were undertaken a great many years ago, and in which there is no possibility of making any comparison between private and public enterprise on any reasonable basis. For example, the Glasgow waterworks, which were originally constructed (1806) and owned by a joint stock company, were acquired by the municipality in 1855 and the Glasgow gasworks (originated 1817) were also acquired by the municipality in 1869. These transfers were effected because of the failure of the joint stock companies to give even a reasonably good service.¹ This failure was due substantially to the very rapid growth of the city, together with the rapidity of its industrial development. The consequent heavy demands for industrial purposes upon local accumulations of capital and the relative scarcity and high price of capital contributed to retard the exten-

¹ "Glasgow: Its Municipal Organization and Administration," by Sir James Bell, Bart., and James Paton, F. L. S. Glasgow. 1896. P. 262.

sion of the joint stock companies which had undertaken the task of rendering the public services. The transfers to the municipality were, especially in the case of the waterworks, an absolute necessity at the time. The city was compelled to interpose its credit to secure an adequate service. A thoroughly competent engineer was appointed, and the department was left free from the influence of municipal politicians. The whole matter was approached not from the point of view of municipal socialism, but from the point of view of effective administration. The proposal to municipalize the waterworks was first made in 1834, a period which long antedated the modern movement for municipalization. Indeed it may be said truly that, until very recent years, the people of Glasgow were quite unaware of their importance in connection with this matter. As regards the enterprises in which Glasgow has engaged more recently, it cannot be said that any of them have been conspicuously successful.¹ The housing problem has not been dealt with in a very satisfactory manner by the municipality. The municipal telephone system is not yet out of its precarious infancy.

The electric lighting installation was undertaken in 1892, because of the possible competition of the electric lighting companies and the likelihood of the profits of the gas department

¹ Even the Gas Department is no longer so successful as it was in the earlier years of its history. The following figures, although they do not fully disclose the financial position of the Gas Department, may quite fairly be quoted:

	Surplus	Deficit.	Price of Gas.
			s. d.
1890-1	£1,150	.....	2 6
1891-2 .....	.....	£27,116	2 6
1892-3	20,539	.....	2 9
1893-4	4,145	.....	2 6
1894-5	4,982	.....	2 6
1895-6	502	.....	2 4
1896-7	328	.....	2 2
1897-8	641	.....	2 2
1898-9	49	.....	2 2
1899-0	33	.....	2 2
1900-1 .....	.....	55,003	2 6
1901-2	39,333	.....	2 6

Report by the Committee on the Gas Supply to the Corporation of Glasgow for the year from 1st June, 1901, to 31st May, 1902.

These figures suggest that for some reason the price of gas was unduly low between 1895 and 1901; and that on this account no adequate reserve could be accumulated.

being diminished. It has been conspicuously unsuccessful from the beginning, yet the purpose for which it was undertaken has been fully carried out. It has effectively prevented the competition of electric light with gas, the gas business having been sustained and the business of supplying electricity having remained very small after ten years' operation and an investment of five millions of dollars. The total quantity generated in 1901-1902 was eleven millions of Board of Trade units, the number of consumers being 5,374, and 500 arc lamps being supplied for street lighting.¹ The result of these operations is that there is no reserve fund, and that the amount written off for depreciation has been very irregular and admittedly inadequate. In 1901 the charge for depreciation was suspended altogether. Even if there were a profit from the electricity department, which there is not, it would be only fair to place against it the loss to the community from the absence of the development which would certainly have occurred had private enterprise not been handicapped from the outset by municipal obstruction.

There can be no doubt that the policy of Parliament and of the municipalities have together impeded in the most serious way the development of electricity in Great Britain. This policy was due chiefly to the fear that the security of the funds invested by the municipalities in gas undertakings would be affected. The history of English legislation on electric lighting constitutes indeed the most formidable array of arguments against municipal undertakings.² Had the municipalities not been so deeply interested in gas, electric lighting would almost inevitably have developed with greater rapidity in England than in any other country, because the earlier inventions in connection with the practical application of electricity to public and private lighting were made there. The instances of the incandescent lamp of Mr. Swan, introduced by him in 1876, and of the numerous improvements effected on the arc lamp between 1875 and 1880 by Mr. R. E. Compton and others, will occur to everyone who has been interested in the subject.

For the sake of what was at the utmost estimate trifling

¹ Report of Committee on Electricity to the Corporation of Glasgow, 1902, p. 5.

² Cf. for example, Mr. J. Campbell Swinton's evidence Report Municipal Trading, p. 102.

pecuniary gain, in the event—so far only a loss—the people have been deprived of the benefits of an important series of inventions.

The Glasgow tramways were municipalized in 1894, the action which led to the municipalization having been initiated in 1890. As I was at the time a citizen of Glasgow, I took a considerable interest in the project of municipalization and took part as early, I think, as 1889, in urging the Town Council to decide to take over the operation of the tramways at the conclusion of the lease. At that time the Glasgow Tramways Company had about five years of their lease to run, and realizing that a renewal of the lease was very uncertain they had for some years allowed the service to deteriorate. There was evidently no disposition on the part of the Company to adopt mechanical traction.¹ This policy not only contributed to public dissatisfaction with the service, but resulted in so much friction with the Tramways Committee of the Town Council that negotiations were broken off after the development of much acerbity on both sides. No other company appeared at the time to propose to give an adequate service. The state of matters was intolerable, and the only thing to be done, private enterprise having failed, was for the city to take over the operation of the tramways. The tracks had belonged to the city from the beginning, and were only leased to the Company. It was found to be extremely difficult to interest the members of the Town Council in the matter; but after persistent pressure for about two years and after public dissatisfaction had become clamorous, the Council capitulated and in 1891 decided to take over the operation of the lines. The ultimate upshot was that the municipality came into a property which had cost about £340,800 for less than half that sum,² and that a complete new equipment of horses, cars and stables was purchased by the municipality, the Company being left with their stud of horses and all their other

¹ It was only at the last moment, when indeed it was too late (in October, 1891), that the Company made a proposal to introduce mechanical power. Cf. *History of The Glasgow Tramway and Omnibus Company, Ltd.*, from its foundation in 1871 till 1894. Issued to the Shareholders under the authority of the Company's Board of Directors. Glasgow, 1894, p. 13.

² Glasgow: *Its Municipal Organization and Administration*. Bell and Paton, p. 302.

property to sell for what they would fetch. This was drastic treatment, although in connection with this as with other matters the Company had to some extent itself to blame.¹

The important point to be gained was a good service to the public; the question of profit was under the circumstances of 1891 comparatively unimportant. Yet after ten years of municipalization the Glasgow tramway system (now an electrical one) has only 130 miles (single track),² an increase of 66 miles in the ten years. If Glasgow can fairly be compared as regards its street railway system with any American system, which is doubtful, it may perhaps be compared with Philadelphia. The population served by the two systems is not widely different; but the disparities of the service are very striking. For purposes of comparison, the details of the Pittsburg system are given also in the following table:

	Glasgow. ³	Philadelphia.	Pittsburg.
Mileage of street railway (single track)	130 ⁴	475 ⁵	410 ⁶
Amount invested in street railways	\$10,369,428 ⁷	\$81,300,000 ⁸	\$73,898,750 ⁹
Passengers carried	163,678,190	325,801,963 ⁷	164,407,446 ⁹
Car mileage	14,008,750	59,375,543 ⁸	32,577,214 ⁹
Population served	1,000,000	1,335,000 ⁸	600,000 ⁹
Capital per mile of track	\$82,134 ¹⁰	\$171,164 ⁸	\$203,916 ⁹

It will be observed that the capital liabilities per mile are less in Glasgow than in the two cities cited; the mean capital liabilities per mile of street railways in the United States are, however, only slightly greater than the Glasgow figure, viz., \$96,287.¹¹

¹ It refused to undertake that it would not run omnibuses in competition with the tramways, in the event of the municipality purchasing portions of its plant. See, however, the Company's statement in History, etc., quoted *supra*. This right to run omnibuses, of which the Company made so much, turned out to be of no practical value.

² Glasgow Corporation Tramways, Abstract Statement of Revenues and Expenditures, 31st May, 1903. Glasgow, 1903, p. 7.

³ Glasgow Corporation Tramways, Abstract Statement, Glasgow, 1903.

⁴ Including about four miles leased.

⁵ Including \$34,808,000 of Bonds, \$6,375,000 Preferred and \$32,715,000 Common Stock.

⁶ Census Bulletin No. 3, 1903.

⁷ Annual Report Union Traction Company of Philadelphia, p. 9.

⁸ See Bulletin of Labor (Statistics of City), No. 42. The population of Pittsburg alone is 333,500; but the population served is about 600,000.

⁹ First Annual Report Pittsburg Railway Company, 1903.

¹⁰ Approximately.

¹¹ Census Bulletin, No. 3, 1903, p. 35.

It is obvious from the great difference in mileage that a street railway map of Glasgow presents a very different appearance from a street railway map of an American city. In Glasgow there are large areas wholly unserved by street railway lines. The service is, however, regarded as satisfactory by the people, supplemented as it is by two steam underground railways and an underground cable line, besides overhead lines from the central stations, all of which carry a very large local traffic. The ferries and harbor steamers also carry a large number of passengers. It is nevertheless obvious that if the street railways were conducted on American methods the traffic might be much more than it is. No fault can be found with the management. The manager, Mr. Young, is well known in the United States and is a man of conspicuous ability. The reason why the service is not better than it is, is that the Town Council of Glasgow is like other public bodies, difficult to move. They have a monopoly, and so long as public opinion is not abusive nothing is done. Moreover, the people will suffer inadequate service from a system which they look upon as their own, while they are apt to grumble with or without reason at a service rendered by a company.

The great density of population in Glasgow, and the fact that in the industrial districts the people live largely in the vicinity of factories (although there are important exceptions to this) combine to offer peculiar transportation problems—problems very different to those of most American cities, where, as a rule, the dwellings of the people are scattered over wide areas, with intervening uninhabited spaces.

Conditions in Great Britain are in so many ways different from those in America, that even if the English and Scotch cities were uniformly successful in municipal enterprises, this circumstance would go but a small way in proving either that American cities in general might follow in this direction, or that a particular city would be likely to be successful in a particular enterprise.

The recent parliamentary inquiries¹ have thrown much

¹ Report from the Joint Select Committee of the House of Lords and the House of Commons on Municipal Trading (partly Paper 308), London, 1900; Municipal Corporations (Reproductive Undertakings) Return, (partly Paper 308,) London, 1902; and Report from the Joint Select Committee of the H. of L. and H. of C. on Municipal Trading (partly Paper 270,) London, 1903.

light upon the whole matter and have shewn that in the interests of the people the time has come at least to scrutinize projects of municipalization very closely.

Summary of The good faith and public spirit of enthusiasts

Conclusions. for municipalization may well be fully admitted, and it may also be admitted that some joint stock companies have acted in a way that indicated that they thought they had the community by the throat. Yet the question must be looked at from a more comprehensive point of view. It may be that liberty is worth preserving at a cost, even if the cost be the exercise of a little patience in dealing with aggressive capitalists. The large combination has yet to work itself out. In so far as it effects economy and secures efficiency these are public benefits, no matter what the private gain may be. It is a fallacy to suppose that private gains necessarily involve public losses. The public is interested chiefly in efficiency and to a much less degree, if at all, in profit.

The total effects of municipal monopolies are not disclosed by the municipal accounts, even when these are kept in the most perfect manner. The effect of the gas monopoly in retarding the adoption of electric lighting both for public and for private purposes, and the effect of the quasi-monopoly of urban transportation in arresting the development of cities, cannot readily be reduced to statistics, yet they are nevertheless of material importance. Private enterprise, criticized and inspected by the public authority and compelled by it to live up to its obligations, appears to be of greater benefit to society as a whole than a bureaucratic system in which the citizens are compelled to become contributories to enterprises in which they hold no real share—no share, that is, which transferable. The "corporation" is as much a servant of the public as the city council, and for certain purposes it is preferable as a servant, because the limits of its obligations and its cost can be more exactly defined.

Method of Nomination to Public Office: An Historical Sketch

By Dr. CHARLES B. SPAHR

Editor, "Current Literature," New York City

Our public affairs have come to be administered by political parties, and yet our parties, until very recently, have been without authorization or even recognition in our laws. The central principle of democratic government is that the real powers controlling the people shall be under the control of the people, and therefore the popular recognition of the fact that democratic government has come to mean party government has brought with it the popular determination that party government shall be controlled by public law to serve public ends.

In this country the center of party government and the recognized sources of its authority is the primary system of selecting party candidates and determining party policies. The origin of this system is practically contemporaneous with the origin of our national struggle for independence. It is true that, according to the memoirs of Samuel Adams, as early as 1725 his father "and twenty others used to meet, make a caucus, and lay their plans for introducing certain persons into places of trust and power." But it was not until the years just preceding the Declaration of Independence that the North End Caucus and the South End Caucus and the Middle District Caucus of Boston obtained a position of recognized power in determining the leaders and measures of the radical democracy of the New England metropolis. Samuel Adams himself is the father of the American primary system, for only in his day did the system become anything more than an informal gathering of individuals interested in political affairs. The part

borne by Samuel Adams and the North End Caucus in the Revolutionary War brought the institution to the attention of sympathetic spirits all over the country. What the part was is sufficiently indicated by the following citation from Frothingham's *Life and Times of Joseph Warren*: "As the time approached when the tea-ships might be expected, the subject was considered in the North End Caucus. . . . This body voted that they would oppose with their lives and fortunes the landing of any tea that might be sent to the town for sale by the East India Company."

The caucus of Samuel Adams's day, though a much more formal and formidable organization than that out of which it had grown, was itself rather of the nature of a secret meeting of men who by cooperation could obtain control of the political situation. Its honorable history at the beginning was due entirely to the public-spirited type of men who organized it. Like Franklin's little "Junto," which exercised an influence altogether out of proportion to the number or prominence of its members, it was based upon an idea of secret cooperation which can be used as effectively for bad ends as for good ones. The caucus was irresponsible, and in later days irresponsible caucuses came to be the most effective means of corrupting public life.

In the rural districts, where all the voters know one another, the evil side of the caucus has not developed so markedly as in the local towns and cities. In nearly all such districts, not only in New England, but throughout the country, the local party caucus was at first practically a town meeting of the members of the party. The next stage in the development of the system came from the desire to enable members of the party in different districts to confer together and act as a unit. The first means through which such conferences were obtained was by means of committees of correspondence; but a little later the party members of the state legislatures and of the national Congress took it upon themselves to choose party candidates for state and national offices

and assumed the general direction of party affairs. During the first two decades of the last century the legislative and congressional caucuses were practically supreme, and it was felt that only through them could all sections be represented in party councils and all sections of the party act together in the contests with party antagonists.

Gradually, however, this instrument for party unity came to be regarded as a party tyrant. Members of each party in districts in which the opposition party was in the majority had, of course, no representatives in the state legislature or in the national Congress, and, therefore, were without direct representation in the party councils. Furthermore, it came to be felt that the legislators and congressmen were not responsive to popular feeling in the matter of nominations. In 1824 the popular sentiment aroused by the arbitrary rule of "King Caucus" was one of the important contributing causes to the defeat of the candidacy of William H. Crawford for the Presidency.

The substitute for the legislative and congressional caucus which democratic sentiment then demanded was the convention—a system which preserved its commanding authority in all sections for one generation, and in most sections for two. The central idea of the convention system was that the members of each party should meet locally and choose delegates to county, or senatorial, or state, or national conventions, instructing them, if thought necessary, just how they should vote in these conventions. It was a further adaptation of the representative system of government to the affairs of the party; but this method of governing party affairs, like its predecessor, became more and more unsatisfactory as the years went on, as population increased and as the desire of the people for direct control of public affairs grew stronger. The mere growth of population formed an important reason why the convention system ceased to meet the needs of the people. When the population was small, the number of delegates sent to county, district, or state conventions was, relatively to the population large, and nearly every citizen knew personally the delegate who was to represent him; but

when the population increased, the number of the delegates became relatively small, their personal relations to most of their constituents were remote, and the delegates came to be what the members of the legislative caucus had been before them, a small ruling class. In order, therefore, for the general electorate to

regain as much control as it had formerly exercised over party affairs, it was necessary to do away with the convention system and substitute one in which the people voted directly for the

men to be nominated and the measures to be supported by their party. The popularity of this reform, outside the ranks of political leaders, was, of course, in part due to the further development of the democratic spirit, which demanded that government should be directed, not by a special class of citizens, but by the whole body of citizens in order that the interests of all, poor as well as rich, might obtain equal consideration in the party councils.

This new spirit was most marked in the rural districts, and particularly among the substantial farmers in those districts.

In the Northwest, as well as the East, the great body of such farmers, at least until the rise of the Populist party and the political revolution of 1896, were identified with the Republican, and therefore it was in the Republican party at the North that the demand for a primary system, in which the ordinary voters should select candidates instead of merely selecting delegates to

select candidates, had its first and strongest development. In the South nearly all the farmers of this independent class were identified with the Democratic party, and therefore in the South it was in the Democratic party that the demand for direct primaries had its first and strongest development. In the South this demand was even stronger than at the North, and for this there were several reasons, the chief one being that in the South the choice of the Democratic primary is, in most sections, sure of election, and unless ordinary citizens are given a choice in the primary, they have really no voice at all as to who shall govern them and how they shall be governed. The regular election in

most parts of the South is merely a listless and perfunctory ratification of what the Democratic primary has already decided upon. It being clear, therefore, at the South, that the popular control of the primary was essential to popular government, the citizens of this section early began to abridge and to overthrow the power of the delegate conventions, and to require that the nominees to all responsible offices should be chosen directly from and by the rank and file of the voters. It was in South Carolina

Rapid Spread of Direct Primaries in the South. that this system first reached logical completeness. The triumph of the reform faction of the South Carolina Democracy in the election of 1891, was followed by the destruction of the convention system and the choice of all public officials, including United States Senators, was

given over to the voters at the primaries. To some extent this system in South Carolina disappointed the radical Democrats who introduced it; for it was found that the primaries were more likely to select a moderate than a radical for the places of great responsibility. But the new system, like every democratic advance, so thoroughly commended itself to the mass of the people, that no one has dared to suggest a backward step. From South Carolina the system of direct primaries has extended into Georgia, into Alabama, into Mississippi, into Louisiana, into Texas and into Virginia, so that to-day nearly all through the South conventions do little more than formulate platforms; the real choice of Democratic party candidates is lodged with the people of the party.

The Slower Spread in the North. In the North the substitution of direct primaries for party conventions has developed somewhat slowly, but during the last few years the advance has been nearly as marked as at the South. Beginning perhaps with Crawford County in Western Pennsylvania, which established direct primaries in

1860, county after county throughout the Middle West adopted the plan of having the candidates for important party nominations submit themselves to the suffrage of the voters of their party instead of being selected by conventions. This system was slowly introduced into cities of

considerable size; and during the last decade, when the influence of the bosses and professional politicians in nearly all the cities reached a point no one concerned for popular self-government could longer tolerate, there has come strong demand all over the North that the selection of candidates by conventions must end and their selection by ordinary citizens take its place. In Minnesota the first important law providing for the introduction of a new system in a large city was adopted in 1899. This law was confessedly experimental, and introduced a direct primary system in the single county containing the city of Minneapolis. Two years later the Minnesota legislature extended the system so that it applied to all city, county and congressional nominations throughout the commonwealth. In the Minnesota legislation the use of the Australian ballot was combined with the provision that the voters should vote directly for candidates instead of delegates, and wherever a reform primary system has been advocated in the North, the employment of a secret ballot furnished by the public authorities has been essentially a part of the system. After its triumph in Minnesota the direct primary gathered equal popularity in the neighboring State of Wisconsin, which a year ago, despite the antagonism of the forces which supply and handle political corporation funds, adopted the new system provided the voters should give direct sanction to the new law at a coming election. In Michigan a direct primary system has been tried in the city of Grand Rapids, and both political parties in most parts of the State have in their platforms called for a general law establishing the system everywhere. Similar gains have been made for direct primaries in Indiana and Ohio, and even greater gains in the State of Massachusetts. At first, in Massachusetts, the system of direct primaries was only applied to the selection of minor officers, but under the law enacted a year ago, all candidates for the present State legislature were chosen directly by the voters. The example of Massachusetts and Minnesota bids fair to have a far-reaching effect upon the people of other commonwealths, the demand for the displacement of nominations by a class for a system in which the whole electorate shall take direct part will soon be next to universal. Each step in the development of our nominating methods has

been a step to make more real the control of public affairs by the whole electorate. All those who believe in this American ideal instinctively give their support to every movement toward its attainment.

In England the primary system has had a similar development, though a much later one. There as well as here the primary has been the organ of democracy, and it has been peculiarly the Democratic elements in society which have furthered its development. The word "caucus" in England was not generally used until the early seventies, and then it was applied by the Tories as a term of reproach to the methods by which the Liberals of Birmingham organized their supporters in order to carry through the civic reforms which have given that city its international reputation, and in order to secure for the Liberal party that strong representation in Parliament for which the city of Birmingham was so long famous. The Liberals would have preferred to keep for their organization the name they themselves had chosen, "The Birmingham Liberal Association," for they felt keenly the discredit which had been brought upon the primary system by the abuses of this system which had been tolerated by the democracy of America, but they accepted the bad name in order to secure machinery by which common men could make their influence effective in the political life of the nation. From the city of Birmingham the plan of entrusting the management of the Liberal party to delegates elected by the whole body of Liberal voters was soon extended to other progressive centers, and soon Mr. Gladstone formally endorsed the National Association of Liberal Clubs, which has come to be the controlling power in all the affairs of the Liberal party. There, as here, the control of the party by the members of Parliament elected by it did not satisfy the needs of the new democracy; and a primary system, similar to the convention system which we are outgrowing, is now the means by which the party of progress in England agrees upon its program and selects its candidates. Years after the Liberals had accepted this institution, the Conservative party unwillingly followed in its footsteps.

Recent Primary Legislation and Statutory Provisions Regulating Independent Nominations to Public Elective Office

By HORACE E. DEMING

Chairman, Committee on Nomination Reform, New York City

Those citizens who at a given time hold certain political views, and will vote to place in public office the representatives of those views, constitute "a political party."

"A political organization" is, as its name implies, a body of citizens holding certain political views in common, who are united and acting together under a definite scheme of Political Parties government. It has officers, committees, by-laws, rules and conditions of membership. Only and Political Organizations. a duly accredited member may attend its meetings or have a voice in its management.

Manifestly, a citizen may belong to a political party without being a member of any organization, though the "organization" may bear the same name and profess the same political principles as the "party." In fact, the members of the organization may constitute but a very small percentage of the party bearing the same political name and supporting the same political principles.

A "primary" is an assembly or gathering for the purpose of electing somebody. If the members of a political organization come together to elect officials of the organization, they are holding a primary. If they meet to elect candidates for public office, the meeting is a primary. So, it is a primary, if the persons elected are, with delegates elected at other like primaries, to compose a convention which, in its turn, is to elect candidates to public office or com-

mittees or other officials of the organization—or, it may be, to elect delegates to still another convention. We thus see that a primary is not only a meeting for the purpose of holding an election, but it is the first or *primary* meeting for such purpose, and may be the source of subsequent meetings at which elections are held. Not all meetings at which an election is had are primaries, but a primary is always a meeting for the purpose of electing somebody. For this reason, the word "primary" is sometimes used as meaning the election held at the primary, and because of this confusion in its use we have the phrases "primary election" and "primary meeting," and sometimes the word "primary" itself as a short expression for either primary elections or primary meetings.

During the last two decades there have been many laws passed relating to primaries. To understand and rightly to estimate their significance and purpose, and to "**The Machine**" follow intelligently their lines of development, let us take as a point of departure the political conditions of twenty years ago in one of our older States, for example, Pennsylvania or New York, where organization for political purposes had been most highly elaborated. No one was recognized as a member of a political "party" unless he was an accredited member of the "organization" bearing the party name. To become such a member, he must submit to certain tests as to his past political conduct—and these tests were very searching and severe—and make certain vows as to his future conduct. To the unscrupulous this presented no obstacles; but the man of scrupulous conscience who could successfully pass these tests and make these vows was apt to be a narrow-minded and bigoted person. The "party organization," so-called, was, in fact, a close corporation or exclusive club, admission to which was very difficult, and intentionally so, for those not easily led through their prejudices or selfish personal interests. These clubs had a most comprehensive and elaborate scheme of organization, for whose analogue we must look to the feudal system during the Middle Ages, or, until recently, in Japan. The elaborateness and perfection of their mechanism had gained for them the apt title of "the machine."

Practically everything pertaining or incidental to obtaining public office, appointive or elective, was under the control of these political clubs, of which the overwhelming majority of the voters were not members. There was widespread dissatisfaction among the mass of the citizens, but the dissatisfaction was unorganized; and it seemed as if the only organization that could prove effective must be worked out on a plan and scale similar to those of the political clubs whose domination it was desired to overthrow. Such an organization of men who have no selfish interests to serve is always impossible, and the control of political affairs by the "machine" was apparently impregnable.

Nominations to public elective office were made at a primary election held by and according to the rules of the "machine," or by a delegate convention, "machine"-made and organized, and at these same primaries and conventions were chosen the officers and committees of the "machine" itself. The "machine" printed the ballots for election day, supplied them to the voters, and saw to it that the voter cast the ballot it furnished. Election-day bribery and intimidation were rapidly increasing. The ballot was not secret.

Such was the situation when the ballot reform agitation began simultaneously in New York and Massachusetts, in 1887, to secure an official blanket ballot, printed by the State at public expense and delivered by State officials upon election day to the voter within the polling place. The first effective blanket ballot law in the United States, and one in many respects far superior to any of its successors, was enacted by the Massachusetts legislature in 1888. The agitation spread rapidly throughout the country, and in swift succession most of the Eastern, Middle and Western States adopted some form of official blanket ballot for use upon election day.

The educational awakening caused by the ballot reform agitation and the actual operation of the new ballot laws had a most stimulating effect upon electoral reform generally and, in especial, it pointed out the way to breaking up the political

domination of the "machine." Persistent efforts at once began to compel party organizations to liberalize their methods. What we are concerned with in this paper is to trace the effect of the general adoption and use of some form of official blanket ballot upon the methods of making nominations to public elective office.

An official election-day ballot necessarily requires the prescription by the state of conditions, compliance with which is a prerequisite to printing a candidate's name upon the ballot; and it soon became plain that, without a great change from the nominating methods theretofore in vogue, the official ballot tended to place the exclusive monopoly of naming the successful candidates for public elective office in the power of the "boss," or of the oligarchy, controlling the "machine." It is, therefore, not at all surprising that, in the last fifteen years, the Eastern, Middle and Western States have striven to supplement their ballot laws with numerous statutes regulating primaries. From Maine to California, the statute books of nearly every state north of the historic Mason and Dixon's line, and not a few south of it, bear abundant witness to the sincerity and persistence of the people's efforts to overthrow "machine" control of nominations, which was rightly believed to be dangerous to democratic institutions.

The struggle has gone on year after year, and it is interesting to note how the form of the struggle and the results achieved have varied according to the political conditions existing in the different states. Among other reasons for this was the fact that the several state legislatures were themselves the product and largely the expression of the very conditions it was sought to change. Naturally, in those states where the "machine" was strong and entrenched in power, the first step toward "reform" was to give the rules and regulations of each "party organization" the force of public statutes. From this original position there has been a slow and reluctant retirement. The next step was for the legislature, itself a state convention, composed in the main of delegates from the two principal

"machines," to establish rules and regulations for the management of "party organizations." And much ingenuity was expended upon their formulation, for, once upon the statute book, they could not be easily abrogated or amended. Nominally, these statutes were aimed at the control by the state, in the public interest, of the action of political parties; actually, they aimed to control political parties in the interest of political organizations. A political party, under these laws, is a purely artificial statutory creation; namely, those citizens who cast for candidates bearing a given political label a certain percentage of the total vote at a preceding election. Four-fifths of the citizens who voted for these candidates might not belong or wish to belong to any permanent political club, but the fact that the candidates received a certain percentage of the total vote was made automatically to create such a club; and the most painstaking care was taken by the legislature in framing elaborate and minutely detailed regulations for the internal organism and government of the club, which, through certain advantages and preferences given by the statute, was intended by the legislature to control thereafter the political action of those citizens who should wish to support for public office candidates in affiliation with the political views professed by the club. Since the primary might elect delegates to a convention which was to elect candidates to public office, or delegates to yet further conventions, and both primaries and delegate conventions might be charged with the further duty of electing officers of the organization, the legislature busied itself with the decision of the innumerable questions involved in or incident to all these matters, subject only to such restraints as were imposed by the legislature itself in the exercise of its own discretion. In such states, nominating to public office was treated as an item of the regulations established by the legislature for the government of political organizations. The legislative history of "primary reform" in New York is a typical example of the process and line of development we have been tracing.

In other states, where the "machine" was not so dominating, the emphasis of the legislative effort has been laid upon

liberalizing the conditions of membership in political organizations and thus diminishing the control of the "organization," as such, over the political action of citizens in accord with its avowed political views. Minnesota and Massachusetts are typical states of this class. In such states the citizen who is willing to declare publicly, with some degree of formality, his affiliation with the political principles professed by a given organization is permitted to take part in that organization's primary, held for the purpose of electing its candidates for public office.

Between these more pronounced types are states with every variety of "primary law." Many scores of such laws have been enacted in the last fifteen years. One fundamental thought is common to them all. In each of them, in some form, a primary under the statute is made a meeting of the members of a political club recognized by statute, and only club members can attend or take part. This requires a statutory definition of the requisites of club membership, and every primary law enacted up to the present time contains such a definition in some form. In all of them it is taken for granted, as a fundamental political concept, that, to participate in a primary, the citizen must first qualify as a club member under the statutory definition. This is probably in part, if not wholly, due to the fact, to which attention has already been called, that the primary which the legislature is considering and attempting to regulate is not merely a meeting which elects candidates for public office, but one that also elects delegates to political conventions and officers and committees of political organizations which, for the sake of clarity, we have described as clubs. But whatever be the sufficient or controlling reason, under existing "primary laws," the citizen who cannot or will not qualify as a club member under some form of prescribed statutory definition, may not take part in a "primary," whether to elect candidates for public office or for club office. He must pursue some other method.

He is an "independent," and cannot vote at a statutory primary.

Various methods have been followed in the different States of according to "independents" an opportunity to nominate

Statutory Provisions Regulating Independent Nominations.	candidates for public office and securing for such candidates a place upon the official ballot. In the matter of independent nominations, as of primaries, much has depended upon the extent of the influence of the "machine." Where the "machine" is dominant, independent nominations are made very difficult. The legislative
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history of New York illustrates very clearly the attitude of the "machine" toward independent nominations. An official election-day ballot law, adopted in New York in 1890, after a most vigorous campaign lasting through several years, was finally passed, because the Democratic and the Republican party each feared that the other might get the credit of responding to an overwhelming popular demand that was fast obliterating all political lines.

As originally introduced in the legislature, the ballot reform law required but 1,000 signers to the petition making an independent nomination to an office the candidates for which could be voted for by electors residing anywhere in the state, and 100 signatures were sufficient if the candidates could be voted for only by electors residing in a district less than the whole state. The bill which passed the legislature in 1890 left the number at 1,000 for the nomination of candidates to be voted for throughout the State, placed the number for candidates to be voted for throughout New York City or Brooklyn at 300, for other cities and counties at 250, and for members of Assembly at 100.

At the present writing and for some years, as the result of amendments dictated by and in the "machine" interest, the independent candidate cannot obtain a place upon the official election-day ballot without an expert knowledge of a multitude of statutory details and the expenditure of much time and hard physical labor. For instance, for candidates to be voted for throughout the state, independent nominations must have at least 6,000 signers, of which not less than 50 must be from each

county; in a city of the first class, there must be at least 3,000 signers to an independent nomination of a candidate to be voted for throughout the city: to nominate a member of Assembly, there must be 500 signers; a nomination to a town office requires 100.

The National Municipal League is concerned only with municipal questions, and the Municipal Nominating Law recommended by the League's Committee on **The Proposed Municipal Nominating Law.** Nomination Reform is a distinct departure from the political theory upon which are based such acts as the primary laws of New York and Pennsylvania, and is a still further development along the line of progress pointed out by the original Hennepin County (Minnesota) law of 1899, the Massachusetts law of 1903, and the new law presently to be submitted to the people of Wisconsin. Unlike the New York law, it makes no attempt to create political clubs, or to regulate or supervise their internal affairs, or to establish any framework or scheme for their management. Without intending to express any opinion whatever as to the necessity or propriety of the state's undertaking a task of this character in the case of political organizations dealing with matters of national concern, the Committee considered that national politics were neither necessarily nor properly involved in municipal politics, and that at the present time and for a long time to come, the campaign for municipal betterment must include, as one of its prime objects, the exclusion of national politics from the field of local government. The Committee felt, therefore, that the methods of making nominations to municipal elective office could be considered as occupying a field by themselves, and, at any rate, should not be subordinated to or confused with an entirely different matter, viz: the change and possible improvement of the internal management of political organizations through state interference. On the other hand, the Massachusetts and Minnesota plan of obliging each citizen who desired to have any voice in selecting a candidate for public office to vote only for a candidate of the political organization or club with which he openly declared his affiliation seemed to the committee

to work for harm in the case of municipal elective offices. The ballot is not really secret under this plan, bribery is possible, and intimidation certain. To attain a high standard of municipal government, the secret ballot and independent voting are fully as essential in the matter of nominating candidates as in deciding between candidates upon election day. The Committee, therefore, while retaining in the act it recommends the concurrent primary at the same place of all political parties, as provided by the Massachusetts and Minnesota laws, and following, also, the example of those laws in holding the primary under precisely the same regulations and state supervision as obtain at the ensuing election, has gone one step further. The Committee frankly and without reserve recognizes a municipal primary to decide which among the competitors for nomination to municipal public office shall be selected as a candidate as being as truly and completely an election as the subsequent election which decides the competition between the candidates so selected. This requires, first, that, at each election, the nominating or primary as well as at the final election, the ballot shall be absolutely secret; and, secondly, that, at the primary election, as well as at the final election, the idea of party and party membership should be predominant, rather than avowed membership in a political organization, which is but another name for a political club. The party man is the one who votes for his convictions; and the Committee is satisfied that, at least in municipal politics, it should not be a condition precedent to having a voice in selecting a representative of those convictions as a candidate for public office that the citizen should publicly join some political club, however liberal be the statutory definition of the qualifications for membership.

The Fundamental Principles Underlying the Proposed Municipal Nominating Law

By HORACE E. DEMING
Chairman, New York City

In theory, ours is a government resting upon the will of the people; one which is controlled by, and expressive of, public opinion. In practice, we not only fail most lamentably in electing to public office men who are representative of public opinion, however, maturely formed and clearly expressed, but it is very difficult, if not frequently impossible, to ascertain or test, in any satisfactory way, the true measure and extent of what is often loudly asserted to be public opinion.

One sufficient reason for this conflict between theory and practice may be found in the fact that successful concerted action in any direction largely depends upon organized effort and in the tendency, when, for any reason, organization becomes permanent, for the control of the organization to centre in an oligarchy, and often in a "one man power" not responsible to the general membership of the organization. If the organization is a political one, the irresponsible oligarchy or one-man power in control is a well-recognized factor in our political affairs, and is familiar to us under various names, such as, the "Big Six," the "Big Four," the "Ring" or the "Boss." And if the ring or the boss may be the dictators of their organization, with but little, if any, responsibility to its membership, still less are they likely to have any sense of real accountability for their conduct to the non-members of the organization who form the great mass of the party supporting the platform of political principles

which the organization publicly favors. The organization, simply because it is an organization, dominates the party, for the many times more numerous membership of the latter is not organized. The ring or the boss dominates the organization; the organization dominates the party. And so it has come about, since political parties are the agencies through which our government is carried on, that successful candidacy for public elective office in many places, especially in cities, is practically restricted to the nominees of boss- or ring-controlled political organizations. Where this result has not been reached already, the tendency toward it may be plainly seen.

The problem of representative democracy is still far from solution, in spite of all our seeking and striving. There cannot be a government responsible to the governed, sensitive and responsive to the popular will; there cannot be a maturely formed or authoritative expression of public opinion, if, upon election day, the only candidates for public office represent primarily, and often absolutely, an oligarchy or a boss.

It cannot be successfully disputed that this is the natural tendency of our present electoral methods. Proof is abundant of the baleful results of this tendency, especially **The Tendency** in our cities, where the prizes of irresponsible **of Present Elec-** power are largest, and the opportunity to seize **toral Methods.** the prizes most temptingly available. Outside of the Orient, there are few places where so complete an example of undemocratic government may be found as in many of the cities of the United States. The state legislature decides not only what form and kind of government the city shall have, but prescribes the details of its administration. The public opinion of the town as to the local public policy is thus made very ineffective, if not nugatory. That policy is mainly determined by non-residents of the town, having neither special interest in, nor much, if any, knowledge of the town's needs. This, of itself, would be a sufficient obstacle to good local government; but, in addition, the locally elected officials are the result of electoral methods which constantly tend to make the tenants of municipal elective office and their appointees the representatives not of the local electorate or of any considerable portion of it,

but the quickly responsive agents of an oligarchy or boss irresponsible to that electorate.

We shall have honest, efficient, progressive city government in the United States:

When the city has a simple frame work of government and is clothed with sufficient local power to meet the local needs; and

When the local public policy is determined by the citizens of the locality and executed by local officials representative of and responsive to the local public opinion.

It is with the second of these prerequisites that we have now to deal. Unless it is complied with, the government of the

	town is not a representative democracy. And
Fair and Open	it cannot be complied with, unless and until the
Competition	local electoral methods provide and safeguard
Between Aspir-	at least as completely fair and open competition
ants for Nomi-	between aspirants for the nomination to municipi-
nation to Local	pal elective office as the best existing election
Elective Office	laws guarantee an honest count and announce-
a Prerequisite	ment of the vote at the general municipal elec-
to Good Local	tion.

Government. Our best election laws contain most careful provisions, elaborately worked out in minute detail, providing that: (1) Only electors ascertained by the State to be qualified shall be permitted to participate in the election; (2) Only ballots provided by the state and delivered by state election officers within the state-furnished polling place shall be voted; (3) The ballots, when voted, shall be retained and counted, and the results of the count announced by state election officers. The state rightly proceeds upon the theory that no painstaking care is too great that tends to insure an absolutely fair contest between candidates for public office when the important question, Which of them is to fill the office? is to be decided.

Yet, long before election day, this important matter has very often already been decided, either absolutely or so far at least as to convert the elaborate election-day machinery into a mere official routine for determining, at huge public expense, which of two boss-dictated candidates for office is the winner.

Plainly, in the public interest, the state must go a step further and provide fair and adequate methods for determining who may have his name printed upon the official election-day ballot as a candidate for public office for the convenience of electors. This public duty is already recognized in crude and partial fashion by the election laws of some of our states. In New York, for example, no one, not the authenticated candidate of a recognized political "party," may have his name printed upon the official election-day ballot, unless a petition therefor is filed a considerable time prior to the election in a specified public office, signed and acknowledged by a certain number of electors, the number varying according to a cumbrous scale.

Crude, imperfect and ineffective as is this beginning, it is a very significant recognition of the principle that the state should control and regulate, in the public interest, the methods of nomination to public office. It also points the way along which this regulation and control should naturally develop, namely, the prescribing of the conditions, compliance with which is prerequisite to granting the candidate for public office a place on the official ballot which must be used on election day. The New York Act is manifestly not devised in the public interest and to provide a fair and equal opportunity among all competitors for nomination to public office, but to give a preponderant advantage to the "regular" nominees of recognized "parties" and to discourage political activity through any other channel than that afforded by the "organizations." But if a legislature may enact an unjust law in regard to nominations, it may also enact a just one, which will afford a fair and equal opportunity to compete for the privilege of having one's name printed upon the election-day ballot as a candidate for public office. All who believe in applying the principles of representative government to the management of city affairs should strive to secure the passage of such a law to regulate nominations to local elective office. The underlying principles upon which such a law should be based are either self-proving or overwhelmingly established by abundant experience.

A municipality is not merely a legal entity; it is also a political entity, capable of having, and entitled to have, a local public policy to be determined by the citizens of the locality and carried out through local agencies and officers selected by the citizens of the locality.

Special Advan- Because of An appreciation of this truth leads promptly
tages to Local **Their National** to the recognition of another, no less important.
Candidates **Political Beliefs** There must be a free and full opportunity for
Because of **Contrary to** determining the local policy on its own merits,
Their National **Interest of** unhampered and uncomplicated by questions of
Political Beliefs **Locality.** policy alien to the locality. The nature of

local political questions must not be blurred or blended by an intermixture of state or national political questions. Contention for and against a particular local public policy may well arouse intense partisanship, but local political partisanship should be with reference to local political matters. The political beliefs and opinions which divide men into parties in the fields of national and state policy, make not only a most illogical and inappropriate, but usually a most unfortunate and, in respect of the local public interest, a most injurious and damaging line of cleavage in the local political field. Local political parties, whether temporary or permanent, should be separate and distinct from national and state political parties and their local subdivisions.

It follows, therefore, that, in providing a fair and equal opportunity to every aspirant for public elective office to compete for the privilege of having his name printed upon the election-day ballot, the state, if it grants any special advantages to a candidate for a municipal office because of his beliefs or opinions on questions of national or state political policy, is manifestly acting against the public interests of the locality.

We have now to consider how, while observing and holding fast to these truths, the state may regulate and control the methods of nomination to municipal elective office.

Manifestly, not every man who aspires to public office is,

therefore, entitled to have his name printed on the election-day ballot as a candidate. No one will dispute the reasonableness of the requirement that, before his name is so printed, he should first have furnished evidence that he has a considerable following among qualified voters who wish to have him elected to the office. Moreover, rightly viewed, an election to fill public office is, primarily, not a contest between particular men, but between the different and opposing views of public policy which these men represent. So far as it is properly a contest between men, it should be between them as representatives and exponents of different sets of political principles. The real contest to be settled in a general election should be what theory of public policy shall be adopted and put into practical operation in the conduct of public affairs; and if there be no considerable popular support of a given political theory, there is no duty incumbent upon the state to print upon the election-day ballot the candidacy of the exponent of that theory.

On the other hand, if the state is to print upon its election-day ballot as candidates for public office only the names of representatives of such political theories as have secured a considerable popular support, it should certainly afford before election day a fair and full opportunity for showing, 1st, that such support exists and, 2d, who among those claiming to represent a given political theory has the largest following, and is, therefore, best entitled to be regarded as the representative of that theory in seeking public office. The requisite machinery for affording such opportunity already exists, slowly evolved out of long and varied political experience. Its general efficiency has been tested again and again. We have but to adapt and apply the provisions of our best existing electoral statutes, which insure that only registered electors may vote upon election day; that every one of these may vote a secret, unbribed, unintimidated ballot; that the ballot shall be honestly counted, and the result of the honest count honestly and authoritatively announced. The state, in

the public interest, does all this for the election-day contest, when the question which theory of public policy shall control in the conduct of the government is to be determined; it should take the same, and, if possible, even more pains to insure absolute fairness in the preliminary contest, which is to give decisive answers to the questions—"What theories of public policy may take part in the election-day contest?" and "Whose names, as the representatives of those theories, shall be printed upon the ballot at the general election?"

Why should not the state establish a municipal nominating election by providing that on registration day the elector, after he is registered, may receive from the election officers and vote a secret nominating ballot, which shall be retained and canvassed under the same safeguards as is his ballot at the ensuing municipal election? It would be very easy, of course, following the evil example of the New York law, so to frame the statute as to give undue weight to "organizations." But no such vicious results need be feared, if we hold fast to the basic principle that we are to provide fair and equal terms for a preliminary contest to decide what political theories of public conduct and which representative of each of those theories may take part in the final election-day contest; and further, that in a democratic republic, every elector is entitled to seek the support of his fellow citizens as an avowed representative of any political theory (not subversive of all government) that he wishes to see put in practice in the conduct of public affairs, and, therefore, has the right to compete on equal terms for nomination as such representative. Moreover, we are providing for a method of making nominations to municipal elective office, and any method which gave any advantages whatever to the nominating methods of "organizations" would necessarily be inconsistent with and harmful to the public interests of the municipality. For in every city are "organizations" of national and state political parties, actively engaged in subordinating the local public policy to entirely alien and often hostile influences.

In brief, this preliminary contest, like the later one on election day, would be an election, and should be surrounded

with all the safeguards that experience has demonstrated to be either necessary or conducive to a fair election. There is, however, a marked contrast between the purposes of the two elections. The earlier one is specifically held to determine what political policies have sufficient popular support to entitle them to compete for an opportunity to be put in practice in the conduct of the local government, and to ascertain who, among those avowing belief in particular political policies are entitled to have the opportunity to be elected to public office as their representatives. The state holds the second and final contest to determine which of differing public policies shall control in the conduct of the government through the placing in public office of the representative of the public policy that is favored by the greater number of voters. In the first contest, the competition for the privilege of representing a particular policy is open to every man who avows his allegiance to the policy; in the second, the representative of the policy is already ascertained, and the competition is between the policies.

We are now prepared to understand the real justification for the use, if any, by the state on official ballots of such distinctive words or phrases, as, for example, Progressist, Labor, Municipal Ownership, etc., in connection with the names of candidates. Their proper use, so far as the state is concerned, is as a short designation to connote a particular theory of public policy. Thus, when used in connection with the name of a candidate on the nominating ballot, they identify him as competing for the right to have his name printed upon the later municipal election ballot as the representative of that theory; when used in connection with the name of a candidate on the official ballot at the general municipal election, they indicate a given set of political principles which the elector will favor in voting for that candidate. Whether the competitor for a nomination or the candidate for a public office is a member of an "organization," or an "organization" desires him to be nomi-

nated, are matters of indifference to the state; but whether a given set of municipal political principles, a particular theory of municipal public policy, has a sufficient popular following to be entitled to recognition at the general election, and whether the man who claims the right of being the sole representative of those principles as a candidate for a public office is entitled to that high prerogative—these are matters that profoundly concern the very existence and perpetuity of representative democracy. The primary and legitimate purpose of a political designation upon a state-printed ballot in connection with the name of a nominee is to tell the political principles of the nominee, not who nominated him. And their use at all is only in the interest of conveniencing the electorate, that the voter may the more easily know what are the avowed views of the candidate who seeks his suffrage.

From what has been said, it is plain that a municipal nominating election should be under the supervision of state officials and that *all* registered electors should freely participate. It is in no sense an organization election, in which only members of particular "organizations" may take part. The ballot "Organization" used at it should be a *secret* ballot, and no *Affair*, but a elector should be required to reveal by the *Public Election*. ballot he takes from the state officials or otherwise what political policy he favors. Nor should anyone, in order to become a competitor for the right to represent any political policy, be required to do more than publicly avow his belief in that policy. In order to compete for the right to represent the public policy in which he believes, he should not be required to be a member of an organization committed to the policy, nor to be a candidate favored by such organization. And manifestly it would be an absurdity for the state at a municipal nominating election to recognize any right on the part of an "organization" to compel its members to confine their votes to the persons whom the "organization" designates; or for the state to forbid non-members of an "organization" to vote for any representative of the political principles it favors, save under the penalty of not voting for any other can-

didate not also supported by the "organization." In short, a municipal nominating election is not a mere "organization" affair, to determine who are the nominees of the "organization." The organization may hold such an election, if it so desires, at another time and place, under regulations appropriate to it, but a public election, in which "organization," as such, should not be recognized by the state, but the whole body of the electorate expresses freely its wishes as to public policy and as to who shall be the chosen representatives of differing views as to what the public policy should be in the conduct of the municipal government.

These, then, are the fundamental principles upon which a Municipal Nominating Election Law should be based and the purposes to accomplish which it should be enacted. Such a law, if honestly administered, would go far toward making elective municipal officials representative of and responsive to local public opinion and, if the municipality be clothed with ample power to meet the local needs, would, in time, aided by a proper framework of local government, convert our American municipalities into true representative democracies, in which the government of the town would reflect the views as to local public policy held by the citizens of the town.

These principles may be categorically summarized as follows:—

Categorical Statement of Fundamental Principles of an Adequate Municipal Nominating Election Law.	<p>The selection of nominees for municipal elective office should be made at a nominating election, open to and freely participated in by all qualified electors, held at public expense under the same general regulations and under the supervision of the same public officials as at the subsequent municipal election;</p> <p>Where personal registration is required as a condition to voting at the municipal election, only registered voters should participate in the nominating election, and the voter should cast his ballot at the nominating election immediately after registering.</p>
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The regulation or control of the internal affairs of "organiza-

tions" should not be attempted, and "organizations," as such, should receive no recognition in a municipal nominating election law;

The function of a municipal nominating election is not to determine which competitors for the nomination for a municipal office are "organization" candidates, but which among all competitors professing the same set of political principles has the largest popular support among his fellow citizens;

The elector should not be required to disclose in any manner for what theory of public policy or for what candidates he intends to vote or has voted; on the contrary, his right to vote with absolute secrecy for whatever policies and candidates he pleases must be sacredly preserved;

Some simple method should be adopted which will enable any elector who openly avows his allegiance to a given set of political principles and desires to be nominated for a municipal office as the representative of those principles, to compete with all others who avow the same principles and seek the nomination;

The use upon the ballot of a political designation in connection with the name of a candidate for nomination, should be to inform the voters what political principles the candidate represents, not which organization favors his candidacy; and the fact that an organization adopts a particular phrase or title to designate its political principles must not prevent its use upon the official nominating ballot in connection with the candidacy of anyone who professes the same principles;

Only one political designation should be permitted upon the ballot for the same set of political principles;

The competitor for the nomination for an office who has the largest popular following as the representative of a given set of political principles should have his name printed upon the election-day ballot as such representative, provided those principles have received a sufficient percentage of the entire vote cast. The State should recognize for that office the candidacy of no other person representing the same principles;

The ballot to be voted at the municipal nominating election should contain the titles of none but municipal offices, to be

filled at the ensuing municipal election; and under each office should appear the names, alphabetically arranged, of all candidates for nomination to the office. At the ensuing municipal election, there should be a similar exclusively municipal ballot.

To sum up, under an electoral system adapted to the needs and purposes of a representative democracy, the State will do two things:

Summary.

1st. It will provide for a municipal nominating election, with appropriate machinery; (1) to determine whether a given set of political principles has sufficient popular support to entitle it to be considered in deciding the municipal policy; and (2), to determine which of the several candidates avowing the same set of political principles—the fact that he is or is not favored by an organization would not concern the State—shall have his name, as the representative of those principles, printed upon the election-day ballot;

2nd. It will provide for an ensuing municipal election, with appropriate machinery, to decide which of competing sets of political principles shall have its chosen representative elected to municipal public office.

That is, the nominating election discovers which theories of public policy are entitled to serious consideration in determining the conduct of the municipal government, and decides the competition between those seeking to represent the same theory of public policy;

The municipal election decides the competition between different theories of public policy to find expression in the conduct of the municipal government.

At the nominating election, any citizen who favors a particular set of political principles—whether or not he happens to be a member of an organization, and whether or not the given set of principles is favored by a particular organization—is entitled to the free expression of his choice of the man to represent those principles upon the official ballot upon election day, when the competition between different sets of political principles is to be decided.

What is there in these electoral methods that interferes in

any way with the absolute freedom and independence of organizations? They are left undisturbed in the administration of their internal affairs; they can make any conditions of membership they please, adopt any methods they please of transacting organization business. An organization can still decide in any way it likes what man, in or out of the organization, it will favor as a nominee for a public office. But the state says this decision shall not give to the man so selected by an organization any right, because of such selection, to have his name printed upon the official ballot to be used at the general municipal election. In order to have his name so printed, he must, at a nominating election held under the supervision of the state, secure more votes than any of his competitors for the nomination who avow allegiance to the same set of political principles as those he claims to represent.

Organizations would neither be destroyed nor made unnecessary by such a law. Their legitimate influence and functions are undisturbed. But as organizations they would no longer usurp public functions, nor would the powers of the state be misapplied to give organizations a virtual (often, an actual) monopoly of nomination to public elective office. On the contrary, the nominee of an organization, so far as such nominations are concerned, would occupy his rightful place as a competitor on equal terms with all who seek the privilege of being put upon the official ballot at the general municipal election as representing the same set of political principles as he avows. He who, whether or not he be the choice of the organization, secures at a fair and open nominating election the largest popular support as the avowed representative of those principles, is the man entitled to this privilege.

If it should seem to anyone that, in addition to the opportunity afforded by a nominating election, there might be emergencies which would make it desirable that names of candidates for a municipal office could be placed upon the election-day ballot who had not competed at the nominating election for the

nomination to that office, this can easily be accomplished through properly authenticated petitions setting forth the particular theory of public policy the petitioners seek to have put in practice in the conduct of the local government, and naming the candidate they desire as the representative of this theory. The ample opportunity which the nominating election would give for free political action would make such emergencies increasingly rare. But no petition should be permitted to nominate for an office a candidate already defeated at the nominating election as a competitor for the nomination to the same office, for he has already submitted his candidacy to the suffrages of his fellow citizens at a fair election and been defeated; nor should a petition be permitted to nominate for any office a new candidate to compete with one already selected at the nominating election to represent the theory of public set forth policy in the petition, for the representative of that policy has already been chosen at a fair election.

The Municipal Nominating Law drafted by the Committee is intended to embody these principles.¹

¹ A copy of the "Municipal Nomination Law," as proposed by the Committee, can be had upon application to the Secretary of League, at his offices in the North American Building, Philadelphia.

The Right of Every Elector to a Free and Equal Share in the Selection of Candidates for Municipal Elective Office

By **GEORGE W. GUTHRIE**, Pittsburgh

The citizens of a republic are both sovereigns and subjects. In a representative republic, such as ours, their sovereignty consists in the right to govern themselves and their country by laws made and administered by public officials freely chosen by them for that purpose, and responsible to them alone for the manner in which they discharge those duties: the theory being that the people who are to be subject to the laws and who will be the greatest beneficiaries of good and the greatest sufferers from evil administration, should of right have the power to control and direct their government.

But it is manifest, that anything which limits or impairs the citizen's freedom of choice or equality of power in the selection of public officers, to the same extent curtails his sovereignty; and that the existence of any power which relieves public officers of direct responsibility to the people, and can protect them from the consequences of, and at times even reward them for, official acts prejudicial to public interests or in conflict with public sentiment, destroys every vestige of indirect or moral control.

Under such conditions the sovereignty of the citizens becomes a mere sham, and experience has shown that it is idle to hope for a continuance of honest administration (i. e., an administration in which all the powers of government are exercised solely for the best interests of the whole people).

Freedom of choice and direct responsibility to the people are absolutely essential alike to government by the people and

tionable to him, and whom he may believe to be unfit for the office for which he is to be chosen; or in order to defeat this candidate he must vote for some other one whom he may believe very worthy but in whose selection he has had no share, and whose election will be the endorsement and introduction of a policy which he believes to be prejudicial to his country.

Is such a choice of evils worthy of a free citizen in a free country? And what is the remedy?

The ballot is the instrument through which the sovereignty of the people is given effect. The state has the right and duty to protect the ballot from fraud of every kind

The Extent of and from anything which might obstruct the free
the State's expression of popular will through it, or impair
Right of the equality of each citizen's share in, or oppor-
Interference. tunity to use it. Legislation to promote these
ends is right and proper and should unhesitat-
ingly be resorted to from time to time as need arises.

But beyond this, the state cannot go without violating the principles upon which our institutions rest. Any invasion of the liberty, purity, or equality of the ballot by an individual or association of individuals is a crime, and such an invasion by the state is tyranny.

No legislation, therefore, should be attempted which directly or indirectly impairs or limits the choice of the people in the selection of their officers. We may consider their choice wise or unwise, but the right to make it is theirs, and they should have the power to use it.

A just government exists for the equal benefit of all the people and the protection of their rights. As the people are its beneficiaries, so they are the safest custodians of its powers.

No sincere believer in a government by the people will ever tolerate, and no honest one will ever excuse, anything which destroys, or unnecessarily hampers, the power of the people to control their government at every step.

Bearing in mind the incompatibility of present methods with the power of the people to govern and control their city and with the integrity of municipal administration, and the proper limitations on the power of the state to act, let us see what

statutory regulations are necessary and proper to guarantee to each citizen that free and equal share in the selection of public elective officers, which is requisite to insure that the officer chosen shall represent and be accountable to, not a "boss" or a "machine," but the general body of citizens advocating and supporting the policy for which he stood as candidate.

The state fixes the time for the general municipal election, and it fixes it at a date believed to be most convenient for all citizens: why, then, should it not do the same thing in regard to the preliminary elections which are to determine who are to compete for public offices as the representatives of the public policy for the furtherance of which parties exist, instead of permitting these important preliminary elections to be changed from time to time to suit the convenience or advantage of some candidate or some organization which, however it may arrogate to itself the title, is certainly not the party?

There is no sufficient reason (i. e., there is no reason so far as the interests of the people themselves are concerned) why there should not be a fixed date for all such preliminary municipal elections; for, whether called **The Preliminary Election.** "primaries" or by some other name, they are elections. Of course, the date should be fixed at a reasonable time in advance of the general election, and with proper regard to the habits and business of the people: but these are questions which the Legislature is designed to consider and, if truly representative of the people, is well qualified to decide.

Particular interests might be inconvenienced and private schemes prejudiced, but the interests of the people themselves (the only ones worthy of consideration) would not be in the slightest degree impaired; for, having notice of the date, the people would make their arrangements accordingly, just as they do for the general election.

Neither is there any sufficient reason why the preliminary elections of all "parties"—if we use "party" in its true sense as meaning all citizens holding common views as to the public policy which they desire introduced and carried out in the conduct of the municipal government—should not be held at the same place, on the same day, and under public supervision, while

there are many and controlling reasons for the adoption of such a course. It is sufficient to point out that it would save unnecessary and useless expense to the state, and that, because the members of each party would be engaged in the choice of their own party candidate, it would reduce to a minimum the danger of those of one party interfering with the selection of the candidate of another; nor would there be any more danger of confusion and disturbance at such joint preliminary municipal elections than at the following general municipal elections.

And, as these preliminary nominating elections will continue to have an important and controlling influence in the government, and as the state does protect and give effect to the action of political parties, it is right and proper for it to take due precaution against the commission of frauds, rather than restrict itself to the investigation and correction of them after commission, which is always difficult and often impossible.

But no regulation should be permitted,
No Right to either by the state or by an "organization,"
Exclude which would exclude from participation in the
Electors. preliminary election any citizen who has the
 right to vote at the ensuing municipal election.

There are three reasons for this, all of which are unanswerable.

In the first place, as already pointed out, the only legitimate and proper use for which "parties" exist is the introduction and execution of a certain policy in public administration by the election of officials agreed upon in advance by those who approve and support that policy; therefore, it would be absurd for the law to give any limited or restricted number of citizens a monopoly in an exclusive right to use and advocate a certain public policy; yet, for the state to give any body of citizens, less than the whole, an exclusive right to select the candidate or candidates who shall represent such policy at the election, is to give them such a monopoly and protect it by law.

In the second place, the proper purpose of political parties, and the only one which the state can recognize or which makes them beneficial agencies of popular government, is to enable citizens who agree upon a common political policy to agree

among themselves in advance of the election on the candidate most satisfactory to them to represent that policy, and who, if elected, will be pledged to carry it out in the administration of public affairs. As at the general election, every citizen will not only have the right to vote for the election of the candidate so selected to represent the policy, but will be solicited to do so (i. e., to join the party then), he should have a voice in that selection (i. e., be allowed to join the party in advance of the election) if he desires it.

The question to be settled at the preliminary nominating election is, which of the persons seeking to be a candidate upon a certain platform of principles is the choice of the greater number of the citizens who support that platform; and that can only be ascertained by permitting every citizen who approves and desires to support it to express his choice by voting at the preliminary nominating election which settles the question.

In the third place, no test has ever been devised which, in its application, does not either violate the constitutional rights of the citizens or exact from them a pledge which they have no right to give, and which no one should be permitted to ask.

The ordinary tests are proof by the citizen that he voted for the candidate of the organization at a previous election, or a more or less specific pledge by him that he now holds a particular set of political opinions, and that at the approaching election he will support the candidate chosen, or both.

We do not now recall any state constitution which does not guarantee to its citizens a secret ballot; but of what avail is this constitutional guarantee if a citizen must, before

Secrecy of the Ballot. he can participate in a nominating election, disclose how he voted at a previous general election?

Either the secrecy of the ballot must be thrown aside, or the right to participate in nominating candidates for public offices abandoned.

So sacred and so important is this secrecy of the ballot that the state will not require a lawful voter to disclose, even in a judicial proceeding, how he voted: how, then, could it permit the exaction of such a disclosure by a self-constituted political

"organization" as a condition of a citizen's right to take part in the selection of candidates for public offices.

And every right-minded citizen, who gives the matter an impartial consideration, will admit that no citizen has the right to give, and no "organization" has the right to ask, a pledge which will bind him in the future exercise of his right of suffrage.

When he casts his ballot, it is the citizen's right, and his duty to himself and the state, to vote according to the honest dictates of his conscience: and it is against the highest public policy to permit him to be compelled, for any reason, to give a pledge, which, if kept, might prevent him from doing so.

Moreover, the danger of the supporters of one policy interfering in the choice of the candidate of the supporters of another policy, unless tests of this character are provided, is more fanciful than real.

None but a very dishonest citizen would do this. It is well known that such an one is not restrained, if a sufficient inducement is offered him, by any such tests or pledges; and, on the other hand, they prevent the citizen who holds the secrecy of his ballot in high respect from taking part in the primary. Under the separate primary plan, there is the greater opportunity for and greater inducement to dishonesty, as there is the greater opportunity from it. It is notorious that, under the separate primary plan, the henchmen of ostensibly hostile political managers often participate "under orders" in the primary of the opposite party. Thus rival "bosses," by working in harmony, may each help the other to control.

Where the preliminary nominating election is freely participated in by all voters, each would know that, if he voted with the supporters of a policy to which he was opposed, he would lose his chance of voting in the selection of his own candidate; an inducement to honesty which is wanting when separate primaries are used.

Where any political movement has developed into a strong popular following, the state has the right to ascertain, and should ascertain, who is in fact, the choice of a majority of those pro-

fessing allegiance to the movement before being required to certify to it by printing his name on the official ballot as the movement's candidate for public office; being careful, however that the laws provided for that purpose do not give any preference to one party over another, or impose any obstacles to new movements.

With these limitations, public policy and the liberty of the citizens both require that in the formation of the official ballot the same liberty and equality shall be preserved
Equal Liberty as existed when citizens prepared and voted
at Both their own ballot. For the state to do more is to
Elections. hamper, rather than assist and protect, the people in the exercise of their most solemn right, the right upon which the sovereignty of citizenship itself depends.

It may be asked what right has the state to prevent citizens organizing on any lines they see fit to adopt, and conducting their business and selecting their candidates in any manner they see fit to adopt, so long as the purpose for which they organize is not prejudicial to public policy?

The answer is that the state is not asked to do anything of the kind. The act proposed will not interfere with the liberty of association: it only prevents any such association monopolizing a public policy which may be of great public benefit. Citizens will still be free to organize as they see fit, and to put any name or names on the official ballot they desire, by petition. This is their right and is preserved by the very letter of the act: but the stamp of this "organization" will no longer be necessary to get a candidate's name on the ballot as the representative of a public policy, and thereby make necessary the election of the "organization's" candidate to secure the adoption of or adherence to such policy in public administration.

Every supporter of the policy should have a fair opportunity and an equal share in the selection of the candidate on whom they would unite. No citizen should be contented with less: none should be permitted to have more.

It is the purpose of the committee in the draft of the act, hereafter submitted, to recommend the introduction of these principles in the field of municipal government, where, as already

pointed out, the rights of the citizen, both as sovereign and subject, are of such vital importance. We believe that its effect will be to develop local public opinion in regard to the local government, and secure a free and honest expression of it.

Under it, before the state can print the candidate's name upon an official ballot for the municipal election as the representative of a certain public policy, a reasonable opportunity will be given to ascertain: *first*, whether that policy is sustained by a sufficient number of citizens to justify its further consideration at the time; and, *second*, whether the candidate whose name is to go on the ballot as the representative of the policy is truly and honestly the free choice of the citizens who support that policy as the man best fitted and most suited to them for representing those views as a candidate and carrying them out as a public officer, if selected.

Through the opportunity it affords for an official polling of the vote in favor of any given set of political principles, the strength or weakness of their support by local public opinion is clearly demonstrated; and through the absolutely open and fair competition it insures between candidates who profess the same set of principles, it ascertains beyond question which candidate has the greater popular support, and is, therefore, best entitled to be recognized as their representative. In this way, without

No Inter-ference with Organizations. interfering in any way with political organizations, and without in any way giving any statutory preference or preponderance to organizations or to individuals, it guarantees that each citizen may, by a secret ballot, not only give a free, untrammelled expression to his opinion upon any public policy which he desires considered or enforced in the conduct of the local government, but may participate freely and effectively in the choice of the candidate for public office who is pledged to that policy, if elected.

The enactment and enforcement of such a law protects, defends and enforces the sovereignty of the citizen, and should make him the willing and loyal subject of the government he helps to establish.

The Use of Political Designations upon Official Ballots in Con- nection with the Names of Candidates

By ERNEST A. HEMPSTEAD

Editor, "The Journal," Meadville, Pa.

Under the present practice, the general elections determine two things: First, the choice of the voter in the selection of public officers; and, second, his wishes in regard to questions of public policy.

**Need of Nomi-
nating as well
as General
Election.**

As experience has demonstrated that these cannot be conveniently taken up at one election, where either the choice of a candidate must be subordinated to the selection of a policy or *vice versa*, the plan recommended by the Committee proposes to separate these two elections, so far as municipal officers and policies are concerned, to give the citizen a free and fair opportunity to express his choice for the officer unembarrassed with the question of policy; and then at the second election to settle the question of policy unembarrassed, as much as possible, by any question as to the personality of the officer.

The first of these two elections, the one which determines who shall be the candidates for officers, the Committee defines as the "Municipal Nominating Election." The second, the one which determines which of competing political policies shall be adopted, it defines as the "General Municipal Election."

The "Municipal Nomination Election Law" recommended by the Committee provides that among the competing candidates voted for at the nominating election, the candidate who shall have the right to a place upon the official election-day ballot shall be that one of each group of voters holding similar views who has received the largest vote, whether it be a

majority or not, of the whole number cast in support of those views.

Choice of candidates by plurality has been adopted, rather than choice by a clear majority of the voters of similar views, as the only practicable and workable principle for deciding the nominating election contests. In the event that there are differences as to which of two or more candidates actually receives the largest support of any group of voters, it is provided that the dispute be settled by the judiciary, precisely as is now the general practice in states which have adopted the Australian ballot system.

Granted that, in the interest of real democratic self-government for municipalities, and as a part of its policy to insure honest and thoroughly safeguarded elections to public office, the state should take entire control of nominating, as well as of the final, elections, to what extent shall the state permit or restrict the use of political designations in connection with the names of candidates upon,

- (1) The nominating election ballots;
- (2) The general municipal election ballots?

One of the most perplexing difficulties which have confronted all who have attempted to deal with the municipal problem in the United States has been the prominent part which national political parties have taken in municipal affairs, although there is at most but a shadowy relation between the public policies of the two corresponding governments. It has been suggested that the state might break this purely artificial relation by forbidding the use of any political party designations upon the municipal ballots.

The present Act proposes to deal with the question in a wiser and more fundamental way, by providing for the growth of municipal political parties by the process of natural evolution. It opens wide the door to a place on the official election-day ballot by affording to all voters who may wish to form new political groups or to adopt new political principles opportunities in every particular equal to those enjoyed by existing political

groups or parties; and, also, by conducting and effectually safeguarding nominating elections, it guarantees to every voter that the candidate chosen to represent the political group or party, new or old, whose avowed principles he supports is a real representative of those principles. The state will have thus secured to each voter the right to participate effectively in choosing representatives of the political principles he advocates for a place on the regular election-day official ballot. The rest must be left to time and the voter himself.

But it may be asked: "Why permit the use of any political appellation or designation whatever, old or new, national or municipal, on the nominating election ballot?"

The Use of Political Designations on Official Ballots. Why not compel the voter to learn for himself for what principles the various candidates stand, and teach him to depend upon such knowledge, rather than upon a ballot freely sprinkled over with various political names or phrases?

Many answers might be given to this question, but the following have seemed to the Committee sufficient:

As the general municipal election will, under the Committee's plan, very largely turn on the policy and not on the personality of the candidate, it would seem only right and proper (aside from the question of convenience) that the candidates should be designated on the ballot with such appellations as they and their supporters may see fit to adopt to express the policy which they represent, so long as the designations are not fraudulently adopted and do not by their application defeat the very purpose for which the nominating election is held.

Political Designations Con- venience to the Electors. The argument of convenience, also, seems to the Committee to be entitled to great weight, especially at the nominating election, where the number of candidates is certain to be very much greater than at the general election.

The comparative ease and certainty with which those who are known as political leaders or bosses manage great masses of voters

is familiar to all students and observers of political conditions in our American cities. The methods employed by such leaders are well known and are largely based upon either the ignorance of the individual voter or his indifference, and the indifference is mainly caused by the voter's sense of helplessness. If it is made difficult for the individual voter to ascertain easily and readily from the ballot itself for what each candidate stands, the long list of names which may be presented to him on an official ballot will continue to make it easy for the precinct or ward or city boss to constitute himself the guide of the voter.

If it be argued that every voter should know, without any extraneous aid, what political principles are represented by each one of the numerous candidates whose names he may find upon a ballot, it is a sufficient answer that practical considerations of time and opportunity often make such knowledge on the part of the average working citizen very difficult, sometimes, indeed, impossible; that it is for the average voter, and not merely for the highly trained few, that the proposed Act is framed; and that the denial to the voter of the sure and certain information which the brief explanatory phrases or designations to be printed upon the official ballots, as contemplated by the Act, would render him concerning the political views of candidates would be apt to throw him back upon the mercies of the political boss from whom we are proposing to rescue him.

The Committee has provided in its draft of the proposed Municipal Nominating Law that there may be printed in connection with the names of candidates upon the nominating and general ballots brief explanatory phrases to designate the political principles or policies for which a candidate stands. Under the proposed Act, at the nominating election there may be any number of candidates with the same political designation as competitors for nomination to the same office. Among these competitors, the one for whom the largest vote is cast has the right to have that descriptive political phrase printed in connection with his name as a candidate for the office upon the official ballot at the ensuing general municipal election,

provided enough votes in the total were cast at the nominating election for all these competitors to equal at least a certain percentage of the total of all the votes cast for all the candidates for nomination to that office.

Under the proposed Act, at the general municipal election a given political designation can be used in connection with the name of only one of several candidates for the same office.

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The Unsatisfactory Character of Present Methods of Nominating to Municipal Elective Office

By CLINTON ROGERS WOODRUFF, Philadelphia

There is no advice more frequently given than that of "Attend the primaries;" and none is more persistently neglected under existing conditions. The instinct of the voter in this connection is more nearly correct than the judgment of those who give the advice, although it may savor of heterodoxy to say so. The instinct of the voter is based upon experience. He has in times past followed or attempted to follow the advice and yet there has been no change in the results. Consequently, perhaps unconsciously, he leaves the primaries severely alone. The politician finds no fault with such an attitude so long as the primaries are permitted to remain unchanged.

As now constituted, primaries in the great majority of places are little more than admirably contrived means of giving an appearance of regularity to the previously determined policy of the man or men controlling the "machine." As to affording any real expression of opinion, they are to all practical intents and purposes useless, except possibly where they are resorted to by rival "bosses" to determine their respective strengths. In such cases they register in a rough way the will of the electors, but only so far as their attitude to these bosses is concerned; but as to furnishing an adequate opportunity to express their will at all times freely and fully, without let or hindrance, they are of no practical avail.

Inadequacy of Present Laws. We have only to examine the primary laws or rules in force and effect to establish this point. Indeed we could rely upon the widespread discontent with existing rules, regulations and stat-

utes on the subject and the constant demand for reform of some sort.

In January, 1898, there was held in the city of New York, at the call of the Civic Federation of Chicago, concurred in by a long list of distinguished public men, a "National Conference on Practical Reform of Primary Elections." Complaint about existing conditions was unanimous. What had been recommended in one place was shown by the experience of another to be inadequate or ineffective. There was disclosed a general lack of agreement as to the essentials for a far-reaching and fundamental reform.

If illustrations are needed as to the evils of the present system, they abound on every side. Each state and city can furnish them. The Proceedings of the National

Illustrations. Municipal League are full of them, as was the

Report of the New York Conference already mentioned. For our present purposes we need only refer, and that very briefly, to the experiences of New York and Pennsylvania. To the former because it affords an instance of the state endeavoring to determine arbitrarily a year in advance that delicate and evasive thing—a man's party standing,—by requiring him to declare what political party he intends to support; to the latter because it illustrates the evils incident to allowing party organizations to determine this question.

In New York, the Act of 1903¹ provides that the voter must sign a statement similar to the following:

"I, _____, who have placed a mark underneath the party emblem hereunder of my choice, do solemnly declare that I have this day registered as a voter for the next ensuing election, and that I am a qualified voter of the election district in which I have so registered, and that my residence address is as stated by me at the time I so registered; that I am in general sympathy with the principles of the party which I have designated by my mark hereunder; that it is my intention to support generally at the next general election, State or national, the nominees of such party for State or national offices; and that I have not enrolled with or participated in any primary election or convention of any other party since the first day of last year. The word 'party' as

New York Law

¹ Vol. I, page 270.

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used herein means a political organization, which at the last preceding election of a governor polled at least ten thousand votes for governor."

.....party..... party
(Insert Emblem)

In all cities of a million or more inhabitants, enrollment must always be made on one of the four regular registration days and the above declaration must be signed.

In cities of less than a million and of at least five thousand inhabitants, any elector who was registered as a voter at one of the four registration meetings in the preceding year at any time during the months of May and June, and in any Presidential year during the month of February also, become specially enrolled by making and filing an affidavit different in form but similar in substance to the one above quoted, which states that he did not enroll on one of the last four preceding days of registration. Laws of 1903, Vol. I, p. 271. This enrollment as a member of a party takes place one year before the nominations are made, as elections are held annually.

In Pennsylvania, the State has simply recognized the right of political party organizations to make rules and regulations for effecting nominations and has declared a violation of them to be a misdemeanor and punishable as such. This allows to each party organization and each local section of it the largest possible latitude, and there is no uniformity throughout the State as to who may vote at a party primary, when these are to be held or how, or by whom or where conducted.

In Philadelphia the Republican rules permit a considerable degree of independence in local matters. That is to say, a

Philadelphia Republican can vote for whomsoever he pleases
Rules. in a municipal contest without jeopardizing his standing as a Republican and his right to vote

at a Republican primary. The rule provides that to entitle one to vote at a Republican primary he must have voted for the head of the last Republican state or national ticket. On analysis, however, this privilege of municipal independence, while important as a theoretical concession, has little practical value, because of the authority vested in the ward and city committees to determine all contested nominations. Moreover the power of the division association (a group of five men in the smallest political subdivision of the city; a division is the equivalent of a precinct in other cities) to try and to determine finally

all contests as to delegates, furnishes an opportunity for an unscrupulous boss to override the will of the electors (See Sec. 8 of Rule IV of the "Rules for the Government of the Republican Party in Philadelphia"), an opportunity they do not hesitate to utilize when necessity requires.

Of what use is this right of independent judgment in local affairs if it can be so easily and readily nullified? To what extent can the people of Philadelphia express their will as to local policy or a local candidacy if the power to reverse that expression rests in an irresponsible committee whose conclusions cannot be questioned even in a court of law?

In New York then we have the requirement that a man must declare in advance and long before the issues are made up what his attitude will be at a particular election, or else forfeit his right to participate in the making of nominations; the effect is to keep from the primaries a very considerable number of men of independent proclivities, even though they may be, generally speaking, men of fairly strong party proclivities. In Philadelphia the same result follows, because the rules are so framed as to place the decision of important questions of party affiliation in the hands of irresponsible and subservient men, and because the power to reverse an expressed judgment of the electorate at the primaries is lodged in an irresponsible committee.

A conspicuous fault of both the New York and Philadelphia systems is due to the fact that they require the voter to

choose between delegates to a convention and fail
Inadequacy of to give them an opportunity to choose between
the Delegate the actual candidates for public office. So long
System. as the "boss" can confine the contest to the
 choice of delegates whose final vote for candi-

dates he can as a rule determine, just so long can he keep the situation under his control. As I said in a paper on "Primary Elections in Pennsylvania," read before the New York Conference in January, 1898, "The present (Philadelphia) system makes it entirely possible to control conventions without reference to the wishes of the voters. Quite often delegates are elected without knowing for whom they are to vote. In 1896 those delegates who had been elected to the shrievalty conven-

tion in the interest of the municipal administration did not know for whom they were to vote until they received their instructions in the convention. Then they voted for a man who had not been before the people as a candidate and who was so objectionable that he was compelled to withdraw. Each delegate is entitled to one vote, irrespective of the size or political complexion of his immediate constituency. No distinction is made under the rules between delegates from Republican or Democratic divisions, so that it sometimes happens that the delegates from the Democratic divisions determine the nomination, in disregard of the wishes of the majority of the Republican voters."

This was true then, and remains true, and will remain true, in Philadelphia and wherever else the delegate system is maintained. Not only does it serve to divert them from the real issues involved, but it gives to the "boss" an opportunity to divert the elector's actual choice; and he is not slow in utilizing his advantage.

It must be borne in mind, however, that there is no effective way of preventing national parties from making nominations or supporting for municipal offices certain candidates previously agreed upon. We may deny

National Parties and Municipal Nominations.	them, as has been suggested, the privilege of having their distinctive label or appellation printed after the names of their candidates, but we cannot prevent them from having candidates.
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If the national and state parties persist in making nominations for municipal offices, how are we to accomplish what the National Municipal League has constantly contended for, namely, the consideration of municipal affairs separately and apart from state or national politics?

The National Municipal League certainly cannot support a law "which will force voters into partisan affiliations so far as municipal elections are concerned." Any municipal nominating law it favors must provide for a full, free expression of choice on the part of the electors and must not compel an elector who happens to prefer among the several candidates for the mayoralty nomination, one who is an "organization Republican," to vote

only for "organization Republicans" for all the other municipal officers nor should it forbid an organization Republican from declaring his preference for a candidate upon another ticket. In short, the way must be open for the elector to declare at the nominating election his first choice for each and every office irrespective of partisan affiliations.

In other words, in municipal nominating elections (and the National Municipal League's Committee has had only such elections in mind and under consideration) the **Republican and** elector must have the same freedom of choice **Democratic** that he is accorded by the law at the general **Primaries.** election. As to his rights and freedom of choice at the latter, there is no question; but we constantly hear the proposition that only Republicans should vote at Republican primaries and Democrats at Democratic primaries, and so long as we have primaries in the present sense, and so long as existing primary conditions prevail, just so long shall we hear such propositions, and just so long will they be, in a way, justified. For under the existing state of affairs not only are questions of party nominations determined at the party primaries, but also questions of party organization. It is manifestly improper that a Democrat should be allowed to determine the make-up of a Republican ward, assembly or city committee, and therefore we agree that the Democrat shall be excluded from the Republican primaries. Our committee, however, contends that the determination of nominations to public elective office is a public matter to be safeguarded by law in the public interest, and that the determination of the officers and policies of a political organization are private matters with which the public has no such concern. The former then should be conducted fairly, freely, openly, under public auspices, and in such a way that every elector shall have an opportunity to express his wishes.

As at present constituted, where the party organizations as such are allowed to use the nominating machinery to determine questions of purely organization business and policy at the same time that the question of nominations is determined, we have a confusion of interests that tells most strongly against the untram-

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meled and undisturbed expression of the elector's will as to candidate for public office. Again the "boss" is given a favorable opportunity to obscure the issue, and so attain his end, if not wholly unobserved, at least without any serious possibility of successful opposition.

The committee does not propose to interfere in any way with party machinery or with the declaration of party policy. Those are to be left to be carried on and determined in such manner as to those in control may seem best. The committee does propose,

however, to divorce the making of nominations to public elective offices from the selection of party officials and the determination of party questions. This separation is essential and fundamental. We do not ask or expect that ques-

tions of party management shall be submitted at the general elections and they have no place at a nominating election. Indeed, if the laws continue to allow parties to use the election machinery to settle questions of party management, the time may come when religious bodies and quasi-public corporations may demand the same privilege of using the same machinery to determine who are to be their chairmen and committee-men.

Let us examine from another point of view our fundamental proposition of a nominating election which will provide for a full, free expression of choice on the part of the electors without regard to partisan affiliations.

It is generally conceded that in a democratic community the wishes of a majority should prevail in the conduct of public affairs. This holds good whether we are considering policies to be adopted or men to execute the policies. This being so, the question at once arises, how are we to determine what the wishes of the majority are; how are we to determine what the majority is? Certainly not by such limitations as are imposed by the New York statute. Certainly not by such methods as are prescribed by the Philadelphia rules.

In the fall of 1903 the voters of Greater New York were

facing a mayoralty campaign of far-reaching importance. In the Fusion ranks the question was: Should Mayor Low be renominated? District Attorney Jerome maintained that Mr. Low was not the choice of a majority of those who had voted for him in 1901. There were other Fusion leaders who held to the contrary. How was the question to be decided? How was it decided? The leaders of the Citizens' Union (and in this instance it is no euphemism to use this term, because Mr. Cutting and his colleagues in a very true sense were leaders), the Republican leaders, the leaders of the other cooperating bodies, met and discussed the whole question, and then decided that Mr. Low was the logical and the most popular candidate.

In the Tammany ranks the question of the candidate was decided by one man. To what extent he conferred with others, to what extent his action represented the wishes of the rank and file of Tammany, we have no means of telling. Mr. Murphy was the Tammany leader or "boss," and Mr. McClellan was literally and absolutely his candidate. Now we all may agree that Mr. Low was the choice of the Fusion voters and Mr. McClellan of the Tammany voters, but how are we to prove it? The fact remains that each of them was chosen in advance of the nominating conventions, which simply ratified the choice of the leaders. The nomination of neither was in any sense of the word a full, free, fair expression of opinion on the part of the electors. One might say that Mr. Jerome was right as to Mr. Low, and Mr. Murphy wrong as to Mr. McClellan; but there is no way of determining the matter now, nor was there at the time the question was up for solution. The law should provide a means for easily and speedily determining who is the choice of the majority to represent a certain policy at the general election, just as it does afford a means of determining the number of voters favoring a particular policy. The iniquity of the present situation is that the voter is confined to choosing between two evils. That is to say, he must choose between two or more sets of candidates, in the selection of neither of which he has had any adequate share, nor is it possible for him to have it.

The statutes at the present time provide in the way of inde-

pendent nominations what is intended for a safety valve. This, however, is but a makeshift at the most, and an inefficient one at that, in a country where the people through long years have been accustomed to choosing between a comparatively few groups of candidates.

That there must be some provision for nominations other than by the means of the primary system under existing conditions scarcely needs argument, in the light of what has been said. The law in New York and the rules in Philadelphia prevent certain men from participating in the present primaries, and yet they have an equal right to have their candidates given a place on the official ballot. If they cannot do this through the primary they must be given the opportunity through petition, and this the present laws give them, although often with embarrassing and harassing conditions, so that while their right is recognized, its exercise is attended with annoyance and difficulties.

Under the provisions of the committee's plan, every group of citizens, whether large or small, can avail itself of the nominating machinery to determine its choice of candidates, with equal facility and ease. Therefore the need for nomination by petition disappears except to provide for meeting new issues, not in contemplation at the time the nominating election was held.

It is entirely possible that some new issue may quickly and unexpectedly arise which was not in view when the nominations were made. As that, for instance, involved in the submission of the question of the adoption of the civil service law in Chicago several years ago. It is important and essential, that it should be promptly and effectively placed before the public, and submission or nomination by petition is the only feasible way. To prohibit it would be to work injustice.

Provisions for independent nominations are necessary where the laws or the rules and regulations play into the hands of the selected few or the boss. If every elector, however, shall have a full, fair and free opportunity to express an untrammelled choice as between the various candidates contending to represent

varying political principles, then the necessity for providing such means disappears, and each group of electors can with entire propriety and justice be asked and required to resort to the nominating machinery to determine their candidates; and, moreover, they will, and "Attend the primaries" will be advice which the elector can and will heed.

The Functions and Opportunities of Political Organizations under the Municipal Nominating Law

By HORACE E. DEMING

Chairman, New York City

Organization means "the act of arranging in a systematic way for use or action, the state of being organized, that which is organized; the orderly arrangement, system or scheme."

When we speak of the Republican organization, we may mean the working scheme or plan according to which certain men of the Republican political faith are united

Definitions. in a body, with its various committees and officers and their functions, and with rules and regulations for membership and for transacting its business; or we may mean the body itself, thus organized. In this paper, when we use "organization" in this latter sense, as the thing organized, we shall write "Organization."

Let us now get a clear definition of the word "party." In its original significance, "party" is "a division;" then it came to mean "a number of persons united in opinion or action." Obviously, if by Republican party we mean all those who are united in Republican opinion or action, the Republican party includes many more members than the Republican Organization.

Distinction between Party and Organization, Party-man and Organization-man. We shall use "party" in this sense, and shall spell it with a capital P. It is plain enough that Party and Organization are quite distinct entities, whether as concepts or as phenomena, if I may use the terminology of metaphysics. And if we are careful not to mistake Party for Organization, or Organization for Party, it will add very much to the clarity of our thinking in political matters and aid us in establishing rules for our political conduct. We shall understand, for instance,

how one may be a strong Party-man without necessarily being an Organization-man; how one may be even hostile and opposed to the Organization, and yet be most heartily a Party-man; how one may be a firm believer in the political principles for which a Party stands, make great expenditure of time and effort, and submit to great sacrifices to advance those principles, and yet be unwilling to submit to the domination of an Organization which avows the same principles as the Party. A familiar and aptly illustrative example of the fundamental soundness of what has just been said is Tammany Hall and the Democratic Party in New York City. Most people will readily grant in this instance that the two are quite distinct, and that one may be a very good Democrat without being a member of Tammany Hall. Yet Tammany Hall is the "regular" Democratic Organization in New York City, and its candidates for public office have the monopoly of the use of the word "Democratic" upon the official election-day ballot.

We have dwelt upon these definitions and the essential distinction both in character and personnel between Organization and Party, because this distinction is observed throughout the provisions of the Municipal Nominating Law. No one who places Organization above Party, who thinks Organization action should dominate and control Party action, that Party nominees to public office should necessarily be Organization nominees, will be likely to favor that Act. Yet to organization, as such, the Act is not in the least hostile; nor to Organization beginning with a capital O, save in so far as it prevents the Organization's nominees to public office having an exclusive monopoly of the use of the Party name upon the official ballot. In this respect, the proposed Act is a radical departure from any law hitherto enacted regulating nominations to public elective office. The departure is not only radical, but intentional, and in purely municipal politics—the Act does not concern itself with politics of any other sort—is believed to be directly in the public interest, and to the advantage both of political Parties and of political Organizations.

Surely it is in the public interest that the candidate for public office at a municipal election whose name appears upon the official election-day ballot as a representative of the principles of a Party, say, the "Progressive Party," or "Public Ownership of Franchises," or "Municipal Home Rule" Party, should have won his place in fair competition with every other member of the Party who sought it. Not less is it to the interest of a Party that every member of it shall feel that he has an equal voice in deciding who, as the representatives of the Party's principles, shall be its candidates for public office. These truths are obvious. They need no demonstration.

But how will the nominating methods which the Act provides be to the interest of political Organizations? In precisely the same way that the merit system has improved and is improving the civil service. Just as, where the merit system is honestly and intelligently applied, the appointive offices cease to be "spoils;" so, where the nominating methods here recommended are put in force, the elective offices will cease to be "spoils." It is a matter of common knowledge that they now are largely spoils, and made so through the fact that the Organization has the practical monopoly of naming the successful candidates for them. This, in turn, reacts upon the Organization, and to its great injury, as always occurs sooner or later to the possessor of power who cannot be held properly accountable for its exercise. The vicious circle can be easily traced. A political Party can only enforce its principles in the practical conduct of the government through putting into public office its candidates who are representatives of those principles. This is the purpose for which Parties exist, the end of their being. If the Organization's candidates for elective office *must* be accepted by the Party, then the Party becomes subordinate to the Organization, and the Organization irresponsible to the Party. For the Party must put in office not the candidates it chooses, but those the Organization permits. In these circumstances, the Party necessarily exists

for the Organization; the Organization becomes the end of the Party's being. The Organization, thus monopolizing the naming of the successful candidates for public office, controls the office. Elective office is now a spoil of the Organization; and presently emerges a political autocrat in the person of the "Boss," the incarnation of irresponsible power.

The picture is familiar. Any observing citizen of mature years in the United States can easily fill in the outlines from his own experience and give the requisite local color. But, though familiar, it is none the less abhorrent to every man who believes in representative democracy as the true foundation for a free government. It is perfectly apparent that this degradation of the Organization and its perversion from the true purpose for which it should exist, as an instrument to make more efficient the Party's action, into an absolute and irresponsible ruler of the Party, are accomplished through the Organization's power of imposing its nominations to elective office upon the Party. Abolish this power, and the Organization as a self-serving autocracy will dwindle for lack of sustenance; and in its place will arise an Organization responsible to the Party, accountable to it, and representative of its wishes. Surely such a transformation would make for an immense improvement in the character of the Organization. And may we not rightly claim that a great change for the better would inevitably take place if no candidate named by the Organization for elective office could become the Party's candidate without first submitting his candidacy to the suffrages of the Party at an absolutely fair election and winning more votes than any other candidate avowing publicly the same political principles?

Nor would there be any less need than now of political organization if this plan of nominating candidates to elective office were enacted into law. Then, as now, organized effort would continue to be vastly more effective than unorganized effort. But the Organization would labor primarily for Party success, and not merely, or mainly, for Organization success, as under present conditions we know is usually the case.

ily for Party Success, not Organization Success. And in municipal politics, for it is only of the municipal field that we are speaking, is it not all-important, if honest and efficient government, representative of the local public opinion, is to be achieved, that the "boss" should turn his great talents to some other vocation than the management of the public property in the private interest of himself and his lieges?

Moreover, city politics are, from their very nature, in a constant state of flux. Men will always tend to divide into radicals and conservatives; but the questions of local policy are manyfold more numerous than the questions of national policy, and less easily classified under definite programs retaining the same general character year after year. The set of local political questions uppermost in people's minds in the year 1900 are likely, most of them, to be dead and buried in the year 1903. The radicals on the questions that excite the greatest local interest in 1903 are likely to be pressing for solution in 1905. These considerations, quite apart from essential differences in the nature of national and local political policy—one may be radically opposed to the national policy that subsidizes shipping or taxes to protect certain manufacturers, and yet most heartily in favor of a local policy that owns the transportation lines or establishes markets—show not only how ill adapted national political party organizations are to meet the local needs, but also how the new political situations continually arising in the municipal field of politics, if adequately met, require a full and fair opportunity for *timely* political organization.

There are likely to be in each local campaign new and different lines of political cleavage and new and different alignments of local political forces. And for healthy and sound local political action, to create and foster a keen, intelligent and constant interest in local politics, and to secure a local government representative of local public opinion, it is vital that the freest opportunity should at all times exist for effective organization, which,

when it has served its purpose, will disappear. Our municipal political history has demonstrated again and again the great public service done by such timely organizations and the futility of the attempt to continue their existence when the purpose had been accomplished which called them into being. However it may be in other political fields, in local politics an organization which is created or exists for any other reason than to arouse, concentrate and make more effective a body of local public opinion on timely local political issues is a cause of public harm and evil.

Such seem to us, at the present stage of development attained in local politics, the true functions of political organizations. But should it be found that, And would Tend to Prevent under genuine local home rule, the natural Parties Becom- tendency of men to divide into conservative and ing the Helpless radical give rise to more definite and permanent Subordinates of programs of political policy in the local field, we The Organiza- are still of opinion that the Parties which would tion. then come into existence should, in the public interest, never become the helpless subordinates of the Organization. If this should take place, nothing will save the Organization, however noble its origin or high-minded its original purpose, from the political perversion inherent in the possession and exercise of power without proper accountability to those subject to it. And the one sure way to preserve and enforce that accountability is to compel the Organization to submit its candidates for elective office to the ordeal of an absolutely fair election, held under conditions which insure to every man who wishes his Party principles represented by the holders of elective office the opportunity to cast a secret ballot for the candidates of his choice.

Banquet Speeches

A dinner was tendered the visiting delegates of the Conference by the City Club of Chicago on Friday, April 29, 1904, at the Auditorium Hotel; President Frank H. Scott, of the City Club, acting as Toastmaster.

THE TOASTMASTER: Ladies and Gentlemen: It is a great pleasure to welcome the delegates of the National Municipal League this evening. This is indeed a day of organized movements for good government. When we as individuals going about the streets or in our homes, or wherever we may be, think about good government and desire good government, but do not organize for good government, we are simply inefficient. These organizations are the expression not only of the desire of the people for good government, but their desire to achieve it through practical means.

The work of the Municipal League is familiar to most of this audience. With it, as with most of the other movements for reform, Mr. Bonaparte has been associated for many years. It gives me great pleasure to introduce to you Mr. Charles J. Bonaparte, who will speak on "The National Municipal League."

MR. BONAPARTE: Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: Among my recollections of literature, which although pleasant and profitable, are not numerous or extensive, is included a considerable familiarity with Pickwick, and in Pickwick it will doubtless be remembered by those of you who are no less familiar than I am with that work—and I hope that is the case with all or nearly all those present—that when Mr. Samuel Weller consulted his father as to the completion of his valentine, the old gentleman expressed the opinion that its conclusion was a little abrupt. Or, as he expressed it, "That was rather pulled up short." To that Sam replied—and I have always thought it extraordinary judgment—"She will wish there was more of it, and that's the great secret of a love-letter." [Laughter.]

I have found, possibly my experience in love-letters being neither as extensive nor as recent as that, I have no doubt, of most persons present—but owing to my knowing perhaps a little more about public speaking in its various varieties, that the same thing may be said with equal or greater truth of a speech, and especially with an after-dinner speech.

The topic assigned to me is one about which I can speak with perhaps a better grace than some of the other prominent officers of the organization, because I can say that it has done excellent work, valuable public service, rendered at a serious sacrifice of both interest and in many cases

inclination, on the part of those who have rendered it, because my own part in the work has been one of the least things of which this audience,

The National Municipal League. like the law, need take into account. I owe my election to the very honorable office which gives me the pleasure of answering this toast, largely, I suspect, to the fact that I was prevented by an accident (otherwise unfortunate) from being present at the last annual

meeting of the League, where the office had for the first time to be filled, owing to the retirement of our very distinguished Honorary President from the active duties of the office (I refer of course to Mr. James C. Carter) which he had filled from the first organization of the League. It may be a source of gratification to his many friends in this audience if I assure them that he retains all the emoluments of this position. [Laughter.]

The work, ladies and gentlemen, of the National Municipal League also has been unfolded to you in a considerable number of papers, all of them exceedingly meritorious, and nearly all of them very sprightly in style and brimming with interest, which, with the aid of an address from the unworthy occupant of the office previously filled by Mr. Carter, which had at all events the merit ascribed in advance by your President to what he is about to say this evening. Therefore I suspect that you really know—those of you who have attended the sessions of the League (and I take it that that includes the larger portion of those present)—know probably enough about the works of the League to satisfy their curiosity until its next meeting a year hence.

It may be appropriate, however, for me to detain you for just a moment with a statement of what is the real ultimate end of the National Municipal League. "Ultimate end" may perhaps be tautology, but I use it in the sense of meaning the real cause of its existence and organiza-

"The Ultimate End." tion and its justification for coming into a field already occupied by a great multitude of leagues and associations and societies and organizations under different names and for various and meritorious objects. At

first sight it might seem that a National Municipal League was something in the nature of a contradiction in terms, because a municipality can hardly be said to have a national character or a national interest, and to form a national league to look after the affairs of separate municipalities would seem to be violating that principle—that excellent principle of conduct which is expressed in the adage that everyone should mind his own business. But in point of fact it is giving effect to that adage. There is a positive as well as a negative side to that precept. It means that we should really pay attention to what is our business, and, in order to do it, that we should not attempt to pay attention to things which are not entitled to detract from the time and attention which we could give to our legitimate work. And the existence of the League is an assertion that the internal affairs of the great American cities (indeed I may say of all cities and communities, large or small) in the country, is the legitimate

business of the whole country in this sense, that the example and influence of good city government in one city passes over the telegraph and telephone lines, travels by the limited trains over our railroads, follows along the stream of our rivers, and by the very air that we breathe, is conveyed over the entire country; and on the other hand, that the influence and example of bad municipal government, of an unguarded public opinion, of public servants dishonest with impunity and profit, constitutes a disease against which we have greater need of a quarantine than we ever had against yellow fever, or that we even would have had if medical science had not shown us how to guard ourselves. [Applause.] It is to establish that fact, to illustrate by a living example of an organization founded upon that principle, that the National Municipal League has been formed, and its object is not to invite the citizens of Chicago or of New York or of Philadelphia to come down and take part in these local contests which we have been having in Baltimore, but to make them feel that

**The Solidarity
of Interests.**

a victory for the right in our affairs is a victory for the right in their affairs, and a defeat for us touches them, and is merely a prelude to similar disasters there. That is an object, ladies and gentlemen, sufficient in its merit and in its importance to justify the formation of another League beside the many that have been already formed and exist to-day, and it has the incidental advantage of enabling those among us who are so fortunate as to be able to attend the meetings of this body in the various cities where it has been so hospitably entertained, to bear with them when they return to resume the struggle for good government and pure politics, for honesty and morality and righteousness in all its forms, in their own homes, a recollection of the generous, kindly sympathy of those who have dealt with them as you have dealt with the National Municipal League during its meeting in your city. [Applause.]

THE TOASTMASTER: "The Worst of It" — J. Lincoln Steffens. [Laughter.] He wrote that down himself. It certainly is a very suggestive toast. I have heard it said that Mr. Steffens is a pessimist. Having read pretty thoroughly all that he has written, I have a contrary opinion. I am inclined to the view that more effective than philippics in matters of reform is the clear statement of the true conditions, since only can there be reform when the conditions are known, but Mr. Steffens has chosen his title as "The Worst of It," and upon that title he will speak to you. [Applause.]

MR. STEFFENS: I chose that title because I had to have a title. Also, however, because I did want to state upon what I based my optimism —and I am an optimist. A great many people have asked me if my protracted contemplation of graft has not made me a pessimist, and I always say no, and for two reasons: One, because I meet the grafters; the other, because I think that this corruption of ours is much worse than any of us imagine it to be. It is so bad that I feel that if it could be

**Corruption
Must End.**

brought home to the imagination of every citizen just what our corruption means, that then they all would care. And when I have talked with those men who being in it know all the facts, and get past the period of "musts" and ask them what is to come out of it, what is to come out of this country that we all care about, they as well as we, they sober up and they say to me, "It has got to stop." It has got to stop because I think corruption is not merely corruption, but a force—a natural force that works through regular stages of development and produces regularly a change in the actual government of this country. When we started out, we started out on the assumption that every citizen would perform two duties: the one to himself and the other to the city and the state and the nation. That was democracy. We did not do it.

When I began my investigation I knew that New York had bad government, and I went first to St. Louis, and I found also that St. Louis had bad government: they had what we had in New York, police corruption. It has never been exposed in St. Louis, but it is there. But they had the other form of corruption, that I have called financial corruption. I discovered, what was true in New York too, that the largest financial interests were buying the politicians to represent, not St. Louis, but a few of the citizens of St. Louis. And then I went to Minneapolis, and there was that older, more familiar form to me, police corruption, and only that. But when I got there it was all over. The citizens of Minneapolis had risen, and they had wiped that city clean. Seven months' work and the job was done. Folk had been working two years and he didn't know whether he could finish or not. What was the difference? I didn't know. I went back to St. Louis again, and followed the clue of this financial corruption, and I sought in the mass of evidence that had been taken there (not all has been published) the ramifications of this thing. And it went in so many ways so deeply into society, that we had the beginning of a corrupted city, which is different from a corrupt city. Pittsburg and Philadelphia interested me next, and in Philadelphia I sought particularly that phase of corruption, that corruption which goes back from a machine into almost all the established interests of a community. Then I thought that I understood. But when I got home to New York, what did I find? That after the other cities New York to me was an example of what? Of good government. Now meanwhile I had been studying reform, and I found that with the two forms of corruption went two kinds of reform. In New York we have that kind of reform which aims at what we call good government; good government in that definition—in that use, is clean streets, and well lighted; an orderly police department, with well-ordered blackmail and corruption (of which people don't hear), and general comfort and cleanliness. That is, the corruption is out of sight. Now they have that in Philadelphia, and I think that after studying such cities as Philadelphia and Pittsburg and Cincinnati, that good government can be got with corruption. If you fight for that,

the politicians will give it to you. I don't object to good government from politicians, but I do mean to say that they will give it to you, and they will keep all that they care for, and to-day in New York, friends of mine who know as much about New York as I do, have said to me within the last few weeks that if Tammany continues as it is doing now, to give them good government, then they will do, as they did not do for Low, they will vote for Tammany Hall.

In Chicago, as I understand Chicago, they have never sought good government, and they have not got it either, but they know they haven't got it. Early in their work they struck at that more dangerous form of corruption, the corruption that comes from the business man, and they have fought that, and to do and to achieve a success which on the surface does not seem to be one-tenth as glorious as that of Minneapolis, they have worked for seven or eight years. I think Chicago will have to work forever, and there is where I get my optimism. I think that there is no patent for good government. I think there is no law and no charter that can produce it. I think that in a democracy the only way to get it is to get it from all of us. That means that the majority of us must be good, and work for good government. How much, I do not know; but we set out to govern this country, and it seems a glorious thing to me that we cannot get it except from ourselves. [Applause.]

After Mr. Folk had made his progress in St. Louis, up to the point where he had accomplished what I have heard a great many conscientious men in reform say was the way to achieve their ends, when he had convicted the boodlers, he discovered then that he had only begun his work.

Why? Because he was checked by reversals of his cases in the Supreme Court of the State of Missouri. The Supreme Court of the State of Missouri was a part of the system. It was not a part only of the system of St. Louis. It was a part of the system of Missouri. It was all one thing, and a little investigation proved that, and a little further investigation produced men for trial with proper evidence for conviction, and still no better success. The only way Mr. Folk could get success was to ask the people of that State to take back the government of it, and he is only just doing that now. He began by asking the members of the Democratic party of the State of Missouri to take back the control of their party, and they have done it. There is no doubt now that Mr. Folk has been honest. [Applause.] Just what the next obstacle will be we can all guess. There is a second party in Missouri, and it is pretty sure that those boodlers who have been driven out of the Democratic party will go over to the Republican party, and the next thing to watch in Missouri is what the Republican party does, and the third thing to watch is what the whole people of Missouri do, because, as our President said, they are fighting our fight. But the significance of it to me is this, that municipal reform when we go

at it essentially is as such impossible. Every reform that I have traced in any city has shown an appeal to the state legislatures. Just exactly as Mr. Folk had to go to his State, so they have had to go to their states, and the excellent charter that the city of Philadelphia has to-day it got from the State of Pennsylvania. Most of the reforms that they have got in New York, that they have put in the form of legislation, they have got from the State of New York. If that is true, it is fortunate too, because it always has seemed to me to be a selfish thing that the citizens of cities have sought for the cities only, reform, home rule.

Home Rule Get it if you can; but, gentlemen, don't go out of your
and State Help. states. Go into the state too, and go to the people of your state, and I believe from my brief investigation of the country districts that you will get more help there than you will in your own town. The jealousy that exists between the state and the city now is partly due to conflict of laws, all capable of removal, but for the most part it is a prejudice, a prejudice that is developed in the minds of the people, that has no real existence. It could be wiped out with one word, one sensible word, and I should like to see all municipal reformers keep in mind, and that is, that they have their states to recover also. Do it if you will, in order to get good government for your city, but go to the states, and when you get there, then you will find that you will have to go to the United States, because that system which begins in the city and in the country districts goes up through the states into the legislatures, and there, where the United States senators are elected, begins the formation of another system, a part of this system, and it ends in the United States Senate, where to-day there is a combine exactly as there was in the council at St. Louis.

So in conclusion I would say briefly that I would have good government changed to self-government, and not alone for the city, but for the states and the United States. [Applause.]

THE TOASTMASTER: Mr. Clinton Rogers Woodruff, who has been known to all of you as a guiding and directing force, the efficient Secretary of the League, will now speak upon "Municipal Expansion." [Applause.]

MR. WOODRUFF: Mr. Toastmaster, ladies and gentlemen: My appearance here to-night reminds me somewhat of an old story of which I read a good many years ago which may bear repetition notwithstanding its age. It appears that on one occasion an Indian priest who for ten long years had been preaching on the subject of charity to his weekly congregation, and not seeing any particular results following his teaching, one morning ascended his pulpit and said to his hearers, "Do you know what I am going to preach about to-day?" They all said "No." Said he, "Then go home. You are too stupid ever to find out." And he dismissed the congregation. The next Sunday he came again—or I suppose I should say Sabbath, because I don't know just what day of the week that the Hindoos do their preaching—he ascended the pulpit and said to his congregation, "Do you know what I am going to preach about to-day?"

And they all said with one accord, "Yes." "Well," he said, "go home and practice it," and he dismissed them. The third Sabbath he ascended the pulpit and said, "Do you know what I am going to preach about to-day?" They had learned something, and some said, "Yes, we do," and others said, "No, we don't." Then he said, "Those that do, go home and teach those that do not." [Laughter.]

I demurred very much when I was asked by the Toastmaster to speak this evening, because I said I had been often enough in evidence during these meetings, but he was kind enough to insist that I should say something. I accepted, inasmuch as to a very considerable extent the audience would be different, and that those who would be present and had heard me frequently were a part of the "old guard" and were used to it. So the "old guard" will probably disregard what I have to say, and those who have not before been in attendance at our meetings will take the message which I have.

I have taken the title, "Municipal Expansion," as a starting-point rather than a theme to be worked out to a conclusion, because I wanted to make a particular point—Mr. Steffens, for instance, in his very interesting remarks, has spoken of certain conditions which prevail in this country. They are serious conditions, and one would be blind and foolish who overlooked their import or closed his eyes to their significance. But, my friends, I verily believe that they are growing pains, incident to the great expansion of our municipalities, in wealth, in numbers, in populations and in functions. Why, think of what the municipal problem is. We have had nothing like it at any previous period of our own existence. We have had nothing like it in that of any other country. The modern municipality, with its vast hordes living in close juxtaposition, with the mighty functions which it performs in the way of light and heat, in the way of transportation, in the way of protecting the public in their life and their property, in the way of providing for the entire needs of the city, in various other ways, is something practically unknown to history. We are just beginning to realize what the municipal problem is. We are just beginning to realize how it has grown upon us almost in a night, and unwittingly, so far as the public is concerned, and is it to be wondered at that in attempting to adjust ourselves to the vast problem which confronts us, with all its great difficulties, that there should be some jolting, that there should be some growing pains? I do not believe that we should ignore these evidences of graft that we see on every hand; I do not believe that we should ignore the inefficiency that exists; but I do believe that we should look at all these things in their right perspective and not become discouraged because of their imminence and because we are so near to them. As I have said on more than one occasion—and here the "old guard" will forgive me for repeating it—you can hold a penny so close to your eyes as to obscure the bright sun that is beyond us, and yet no one denies the existence of the sun nor its brilliance.

To refer just for a moment to the story of the priest. The National Municipal League for ten years has been preaching the doctrine of good government, the doctrine of self-government, the doctrine or gospel of giving to this municipal problem its right place in our time and in our consideration. If the

The Municipal Gospel.

time were at hand and were at my disposal, I could show you by a concrete theory, by statistics such as my friend Dr. Hartwell produces from month to month in his Boston publication, that the people do not and have not appreciated the true importance of this problem. Therefore, the National Municipal League has felt it to be a part of its duty, that it must recognize with increasing force from year to year that we must preach the gospel of more attention to municipal affairs, of a larger consideration of municipal affairs on the part of the people. We have not only preached this gospel of a proper interest in municipal affairs, of a proper attention and regard for municipal affairs, but we have sought to apply that doctrine from time to time to concrete instances. Now I understand—and herein I have just a little bit of a grouch against Mr. Steffens, because, between ourselves, he promised to say certain things which would make my remarks natural and logical, but because of his absorption in his other line of thought, he has failed to give me that opportunity, so I must create it for myself—the suggestion has been made by some of the delegates that the League ought to give more time, thought and consideration to the local difficulties that exist in the various cities, with which the individual has to deal, that our annual meetings should serve as a means of conferring among those who are seeking for higher municipal standards.

I ask those who made that suggestion to look back over the period covered by the National Municipal League, look back over its proceedings, and they find that that particular phase has been gone through; but the suggestion that Mr. Steffens ought to have made and which I am going to make for him is that we have got to go through that same old thing year after year. We have the blessed gospel, but we know that while it is preached from the pulpits of this land on every Sunday, that in those same churches there is the Sunday school for the coming generation; and

so the National Municipal League must maintain from year to year its "kindergarten" classes, its primary and secondary classes, for the instruction of those who are

Kindergarten Classes.

just beginning to realize their relation to this municipal problem. And there was held to-day, under the genial and kindly auspices of the City Club, a conference, which, while it may not appear in public print, will be, I verily believe, of far-reaching importance. Thirty-five men gathered around the tables under the auspices of men like him who is at my left here, who has been such a factor for higher standards in Chicago, Mr. Walter L. Fisher [applause] to learn how he and his colleagues have done that most significant thing in the city of Chicago. It is true that Chicago will have to continually and persistently work for

good government if it is going to achieve that end, because it is one of those things that you never reach; you are always striving to reach it. The significant thing about the municipal experience in Chicago is this, that for six or seven consecutive campaigns, under the influence of the Municipal Voters' League, the people of Chicago have expressed their desire for a better council. In other words, they have approved the good old National Municipal League doctrine, which has been repeated year in and year out, and which I judge from the suggestions that have been made this year, will have to be renewed, we have got to keep everlastingly at it if we are going to have good government; or, as our forefathers put it, with that particular force which their experience gave them, "It is eternal vigilance that is the price of liberty." And it is eternal vigilance that is going to give us good government, and it is only by keeping at it religiously like the Municipal Voters' League in Chicago, that we are going to have good government.

Think what a significant thing it is that thirty-five men, all inspired by high ideals and a desire to discharge their duties as citizens, by a desire to be of the largest possible service to their fellow-citizens, should come together to confer as to the best ways and means of doing that particular thing; men from New York, men from Cincinnati, from Denver, Minneapolis, Kansas City, Duluth, Detroit, coming together just as business men come together to confer as to ways and means. I think that that is a significant thing. I think it is an extremely important thing; and I think you will agree with me that an organization that makes that sort of thing possible is certainly worthy of the cordial support which has already been accorded to it.

I had intended to get back to the priest story to this extent: The National Municipal League has been preaching certain doctrines in regard to more efficient municipal government, the doctrine of the wider consideration of municipal affairs. The doctrine has been heard, but I am reminded when I say this, of an old saying of an old clergyman whom I used to know. He said that boys hear and apply but men hear and modify. And that is what is the trouble with so many of us in our reform efforts in this and every other community. We hear the gospel of efficient or good government, if you choose to call it such, preached from time to time, but we are always modifying it to suit our own personal convenience, and we have got to eliminate that. We have to realize that there is just as much need for civic patriotism to-day as there was among our ancestors of 129 years ago when they fought the battles of independence. We have to realize that the people of this country, if they are going to have and keep good government, have to sacrifice their personal interests and lay them aside, and do that which the public interests and the public welfare demand, irrespective of whether it touches their pocketbook or not. They must hear and apply, not hear and modify because of their own personal interests. [Applause.]

I had thought of calling attention to that remark made hundreds of years ago by Marcus Aurelius. It was, curiously enough, also suggested by my friend on the right, that the true object of a man is to be measured by the objects he pursues. Now if we test the true objects of those who have gathered together in this annual convention, and I think it is only fair to say, Mr. Toastmaster, for the sake of Chicago and in recognition of what Chicago has done, that in many respects it is the most successful we have ever had, in that it has brought together more distinguished men from out of town than any previous conference, with one or two possible exceptions, are shown by the high ideals which the men have had before them, and if some of them do seem a little impractical to outsiders, it is because they are public-spirited, and it shows how truly public in the best sense of the word are the ideas of those who constitute this, the Eleventh National Conference for Good Government, and the Tenth Annual Meeting of the National Municipal League.

We must bear in mind one thing. Booker Washington, the other night in an address in New York, made use of the expression, that it seems to me reformers in every line of activity can well

The Inch of Progress.

bear in mind "that an inch of progress is worth a yard of complaint." We are not going to better the present condition in our American municipalities by complaining about them, and as one member of the League said to-day, "I was struck by the fact that there was an entire absence of complaint on the part of those who participated in the sessions;" and when you come to think of it you will find that all the papers were permeated, not necessarily by a tone of optimism, which oftentimes is used to cover up minor deficiencies, but by a deliberate concrete purpose on the part of those who read the papers to do something positive, not to find fault, not to tear down, not merely to criticise, but to do something positive. To supplant the present evil conditions with something positively good. And I tell you that is the line of real progress, as Booker Washington said, and let us reiterate, "an inch of progress is worth a yard of complaint." Let us emphasize the forces that are making for righteousness—and they are abundant all over this land of ours. Everywhere you go, in every community, what do you find? It is a fact that comes home to me, every month and every year, that the people are awakening to the importance of the municipal problem. They are taking means to establish better and higher standards, and they are emphasizing the things that make for progress, and by that very fact they are gradually crowding out the things that make for evil, the things that make for inefficiency, the things that make for corruption, and that of itself is a significant fact. One of the most distinguished editors in the United States, a few days ago, in writing to me upon this subject, said he considered the fact that the municipalities of this land were making provision for the healthful recreation and education of the various classes that compose it, especially those known as the poorer classes, was to him of the greatest significance, and indicated what

true progress was being made, and when you think that there is no community in this country that has not its established agencies for caring for the children, for giving them more wholesome instruction, more wholesome opportunity for public recreation and looking after the little tots, whether from the charitable point of view or the educational point of view, I tell you, my friends, it is a factor of mighty significance.

And there is just one thing I want to say in conclusion, and that is this: we must not be disappointed because our progress is not greater. There is an old eastern proverb which recurs to me every time I make a speech on this subject, because it is so eternally true, it is one that we can well bear in mind, and it is this: "With patience, perseverance and a bottle of sweet oil, the snail at length reaches Jerusalem." And so with patience, perseverance, and above all, with that tact and that judgment which has characterized, for instance, the movements here in Chicago, in San Francisco, in St. Louis, in Kansas City and in various other cities that I might mention if the time were at my disposal, they are arriving at concrete results. But we must bear in mind, just as Mr. Steffens suggested, and just as he stated, although in a little different form, that we cannot get government from without. You cannot impose a good character on the city any more than you can impose it on an individual, from without. If we are going to have good government in these municipalities of ours it must be because it is the conscious and outward expression of a

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Regeneration.

regenerated feeling within in behalf of higher municipal standards, and it is for those things that the National Municipal League stands and for which it asks your continued support during all the coming years. We thank you, and thank you heartily, for the support you have given us. Moreover, for the examples that you have set us of persistent and patient effort, and for the tact which is essential in this, and we, moreover, feel that it is a matter for profound congratulation that this conference, as the preceding conferences to a great extent, although not perhaps to so marked an extent, has been characterized by the sentiment that was expressed that we are proceeding along the lines of reinforcing the forces that make for righteousness, and may we during the coming year put the emphasis upon that end, not blinding ourselves to the various conditions that Mr. Steffens has referred to, but always bearing in mind that there is progress, and that it can be advanced by emphasizing those factors rather than dwelling too long upon those which seem for the time being to be making for reaction. The swaying back and forth of the tide does not always indicate that it is rising, but when those who have the instruments whereby they can measure it have taken their measurements, they tell you the tide has risen, and those of us who live in the watch-tower of the National Municipal League feel that from year to year, while there may be from time to time what appears to be reaction, that the tide of public interest, the tide of public sentiment, is steadily rising. [Applause.]

THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Amos Parker Wilder, editor of the *State Journal* of Madison, Wisconsin, will give you "The Best of It." [Applause.]

MR. WILDER: Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen: I asked my Madison colleague, Dr. Sparling, of the University of Wisconsin, why it was that men like himself and Professor Bemis and **The Best of It.** others, who have given their lives to this topic, who teach it and who have written books about it, are allowed to participate in proceedings during the day, but at night are suppressed, and others like myself, a mere onlooker in Venice, find themselves on this elevated platform in a somewhat conspicuous (but not offensively so to myself) position. [Laughter.] And he replied, taking me by the buttonhole (and Sparling is a confiding man), he said, "Wilder, the program of the National Municipal League is somewhat on the order of the Fourth of July. During the day we fire off the heavy artillery, and at night we send up the skyrockets and touch off the pinwheels." [Laughter.] Now you have heard Woodruff, and will witness the magnificent flight of monster skyrockets searching the heavens and leaving behind them the trail of splendid eloquence. I am one of the six-by-five pinwheels, whose life career it is to struggle, to splutter and to go out. [Laughter.] And for all I know, you yourselves will undertake the last act in this threefold program.

I noticed a remark by Mr. Baer, the God-ordained magnate of labor, in which he expressed the opinion that John Mitchell was a great man. Some surprise was expressed, and he went on to say that Mitchell was an Irishman who knew enough to keep his mouth shut. I don't belong to that order. One difficulty in addressing these recurrent conventions is that the lightest phrase, the most unprepared utterance, goes into a big book which our secretary compiles every year, and six months from now, in one hundred universities, students will be found taking notes from my remarks and those of others made here, preparing themselves for important debates on, "Resolved, That *Terre Haute* has a better government than Berlin" [laughter], or "Resolved, That it is easier to buy a franchise in a city council than in a social body." Then again, gentlemen, I am in no

mood to give you my notions of Chicago to-night.
Notions of Chicago. I should have to lie about them to make them thoroughly congenial. [Laughter.] This morning, for the second time, in my passion for good government, I arose at four in the morning. As I was taking my ticket for Chicago the agent asked me if I desired accident insurance. I declined with thanks, and I went over to get my sleeper ticket, and he also asked me if I were going to Chicago, and whether I desired accident insurance. Being in somewhat playful mood, I said I was on a speechmaking errand, and possibly would be considered an extra hazardous risk. And he said if I was going to Chicago to make a speech I needed old-fashioned life insurance. [Laughter.]

In this mental frame of mind I wish I were in the position of one of

those perch which the boy caught. He boasted he caught thirty-four perch, and his father asked him to produce the perch. The boy held one up and said, "The other thirty-three I had bit and dove." [Laughter.] Then again I know of nothing that a man from that modest and retired commonwealth of Wisconsin can bring to Chicago. It would be like bringing coals to Newcastle, and anyone who has endeavored to keep linen clean in Chicago knows that coal is the last thing you need. Milwaukee produces a beverage which makes a man feel great, not which makes him great. [Laughter.] Indeed, it is not uncommon for our honest peasantry on going to that city and missing a train or two, to be seen on the street car with their arms enthusiastically around each other, declaring their ability to pay the national debt—and yet men of very limited means. I have no desire to raise a tumult here or to imperil people with weak heart-action, but I notice by an evening paper that it is proposed at the Wisconsin Building in St. Louis to give free beer to all comers. This item is of no special importance to me, as I am from the State of Maine, where, if the disappointed lover contemplates drinking himself to death, he is precluded from all except russet cider, a slow but not uncongenial form of exit to a confessedly spiritual world. [Laughter.]

It is interesting in recounting the progress of the National Municipal League, those of us who can recall its ten years' labors under our secretary, to pause, that our hearts and our hands may pay tribute to this Sir Philip Sidney of the twentieth century, who, with our presiding officer, not more distinguished by reason of his royal ancestry than beloved and respected by the American people through his services to the Republic and his personal charms. We have accomplished great things under such leadership, the leadership of these champions of the new standard of service. As we recall these years, it is interesting to see how the League has passed through the period of ridicule and neglect until now in even the smallest cities the reform leagues are thronged with membership, especially by those who have offered themselves up on the altar of public service, or those who have placed themselves in the hands of their friends. [Laughter.] Everybody belongs to a Reform League. It may become necessary to resort to that course of action reported by the pastor who had had a very successful revival in his church, and was being congratulated by one of his brother clergymen who asked how many new members had been admitted, and the pastor replied they had admitted no new ones, but that they had got rid of three. [Laughter.]

I have just returned from the city of Erie, Pa., one of many such cities, a manufacturing city, and my soul has been cheered within me.

I wish, sir, that you might have been with me. Erie is a manufacturing city. You can have a city built up on education, or a city built up on political activities, or a city built up on summer-resort facilities; but if you want a great city, if you want a city throbbing with virile life, with

The League's Progress.

Manufacturing Towns.

not only its perils, but with all its hopes and diversified life and splendid destiny, why, you have got to build on manufactures. There I found such a city of 60,000 people, and I met the mayor. I said to myself, "Surely the mayor of such a city, elected by the workingmen, will be a man with a tall silk hat and a profusion of diamonds, who interlards his conversation with profanity, and who on being introduced will simply invite me out to take a drink." I was disappointed. [Laughter.] I met a gentleman, Mr. Harding, a man who reminded me in appearance of a college professor. A man of wonderful dignity who might well stand before kings, and that man from the age of eleven years had worked with his hands, and I said to myself, "I will send my boys, not to my own alma mater, I will send them into stores or factories or boiler shops at the city of Erie, or some manufacturing city, if I can produce such magnificent specimens of manhood as that." And it was a splendid thing to find such a man at the head of such a great city.

They showed us the water plant, and I have suggested that at the next annual conference we have a paper showing what an appointed water commission can accomplish in such a city as that. There they have a plant representing two and a half million dollars, owned by the city, not only supplying water in abundance and of great purity, but to which they have added a park and to which they have added swimming baths for the people. The man who decries the employer of labor does not know life. I met the manufacturers of Erie by the score. The man who stands on the street corner and decries the capitalist is an ingrate and he is a fool. He knows nothing of the fret and worry and spectre of care and blackness of despair. The workingman has but one job to watch, one family to feed. The employer wakes in the morning with hundreds of thousands of women and children looking to him for bread. William McKinley, to his credit, understood that not alone agriculture is one of the foundation stones of our republic, but the smokestack as well. Production, manufacture—these industries contribute more than we suspect to our prosperity as a people. And often it is only when a worried manufacturer turns his head to the wall in death, when the smoke ceases to curl from the chimney and the great idle building reverberates pathetically to the step of the careless passer-by, that the ignorant are forced to concede that constructive work and that executive ability are among the prominent factors of the prosperity of our American cities, and when conjoined with personal work, merit the highest commendation of God and of man.

I have been interested with the addresses to-night and to meet these distinguished gentlemen at my right and at my left. I ventured to ask Graham Taylor, whose name is very familiar to us all, with reference to a heated debate in my own family as to whether he did not hesitate to imperil his darling children in his home life down where he works. I am sure my contemporaries of the press will omit this reference. And Dr. Taylor replied that he had just saved his son from a greater peril than

this, in that he had just been safely graduated from Harvard College. [Laughter.]

I am glad to meet this gentleman on my right (Mr. Steffens), who has done such signal service in this country in centering the attention of the people on our municipal questions. He must visit the country often. I will inform him that there he will find conditions which will fill his heart with cheer, and it will be found in solving this problem, and in solving all the problems of the nation, that one has never appealed to persons in the rural districts and in the small cities in vain. I would remind him of the State of Kansas, with an area twice that of his own New York; of the great State of Texas, where they have no large cities, filled up with a virtuous and historic people, and whose area is so great that you could divide the population of the world into family groups of five each and give each group a half acre of land to sustain them, and have an area left equal to all England, as a playground for them. [Laughter.]

The administration of a city is but part of its labor. The end of industry, the end of every man's day's work, the end of education and of local government itself is not administration, but is its character. A city is more than a mere taxpaying area. It is more than a district to be kept garnished, to be heated and lighted and policed. We miss the vision if we forget that the city is an arena in which the forces of civilization are clashing for the mastery. Epictetus recognized this centuries ago, when he said, "You will best serve your citizens not by hundreds of roofs (that is, by material splendor), but by loving their souls." And the profound mind of Shakespeare laid bare this full municipal problem when he said, "What is the city but the people?" When a lot of enthusiastic citizens get together and dethrone a boss, when they expose an incompetent or corrupt ring, they do more than safeguard the city treasury, they do more than clean the city pavements; they do more even than to lay foundations for stately buildings and for ennobling art; they equip the schools with competent teachers, and thus train up not one child but a generation. They hasten the law that the truth may make men free. They safeguard youth from crime. They set before your boy bandits ideals of decent achieving manhood. They transmute black brutality into Booker Washington. Perchance in some tenement home they raise up an Abraham Lincoln against another day of awful national convulsion. Medical science under city auspices forces nature to disgorge the secrets which sustain the race. They cause wan women to hope and sick children to smile, and desperate men to take courage. This is a noble crusade in which we are engaged. It is a noble work in which every municipal organization is engaged under whatever name, wittingly or unwittingly, for it makes for the uplifting of humanity. It leaves no human interest untouched. And so you are working that every man may know what his community means to him, how vital it is to his business,

to his home, to his children, to his destiny, that administration should be decent and should be efficient and should be dignified, so that we may hope, sir, after a few more decades of education and effort, that every citizen, whether he be of Chicago or of New York or of Omaha or of Madison, may know something of the pride with which Paul of Tarsus said he "was of no mean city." And so that every American, as in his mind's eye he sees the city of his birth, where he was educated, where he lived, where he worked, and where his dust is to rest, may cry out, as did the Psalmist:

"If I forget thee, oh, city of my heart, may my right arm forget its cunning, may my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, if I remember thee not, if I prefer thee not above my chief joy." [Applause.]

THE TOASTMASTER: Mr. J. Pemberton Baldwin, Civil Service Commissioner of the city of New Orleans, will speak to us for his section. [Applause.]

MR. BALDWIN: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: After the modest discourse of the gentleman who immediately preceded me, after the most brilliant pyrotechnical display I have listened to for some time with interest and benefit to myself, I feel still more like the pinwheel of which he spoke and to which he so modestly compared himself.

There are some in this audience who have been acquainted with New Orleans, who know part of its life; they know something of its social life, of its business life, but possibly little of its political life. There is a phase of the political life of New Orleans which is characteristic, which is peculiar and which possibly I might dwell upon, because at this

The Young Men of New Orleans. time I do not belong to the class of which I wish to speak, and that is the young men of New Orleans.

Trained by condition, by habit, in what may be termed frivolity, the younger men of that city fall readily into the cadence and the step that is speedily stirred into a military movement. They will join hand and heart in any movement for the city's welfare. They are able to take part in any military organization, and by military I mean that foundation, that basis which forms the most steady and the most permanent union, and in that way and through them we have had our most permanent political success drawn from these youngsters, from these minors in the city. They have gone out in the face of the ward boss and have invariably been successful. They are not afraid of the ward boss. A thing of that sort occupies and plays but an unimportant part, for a class of men of that sort, trained as they have been, readily accustomed to military matters and to the drill, easily adopting a once familiar Southern habit of carrying weapons, which are now only carried, I believe, on proper occasions, they have met the foe and have disposed of him without trouble. It is to that class that we owe so much that is good in our present condition. We have not attained perfection, and we have invited Mr. Steffens to come and visit us, and under Mr. Steffens' criticism we may feel like the Irishman in the old story who introduced his wife to

his friend, and said he, "Pat, she is not very fair to look at, but beauty is only skin deep." "Well," said this friend after the meeting, "I think you had better skin her." I trust, gentlemen, that we shall not meet with quite so severe a treatment at the hands of our guests, and we shall at least have the lesson of Chicago before us. [Applause.]

THE TOASTMASTER: The last speaker of the evening needs no introduction to a Chicago audience. Mr. Sigmund Zeisler will speak upon "Chicago's Contribution to Municipal Reform."

MR. ZEISLER: Mr. Toastmaster and Ladies and Gentlemen: As a citizen of Chicago and as a member of the City Club acting as host to the National Municipal League, I have been much gratified by the expressions of some of the distinguished gentlemen who have spoken here to-night in appreciation of the hospitality of the city of Chicago and of the welcome they have found here. And this is just what we intended. You do not know all the things we did. It is true the mayor of the city did not meet you upon your arrival at the city limits to hand you over the keys of Chicago, but we did something better than that; we opened the gates and threw the key into the lake and bade you enter a wide-open city. [Laughter.] At least that is what our friend Hoyt King would call it. We did another thing. Profiting by the report of certain "touching experiences" of which the secretary and treasurer of the National Municipal League had in the up-to-date city of Detroit a year ago, we got the chief of police to detail one plain-clothes man for each one of the green-looking delegates to this conference—men like Mr. Bonaparte [laughter]—to protect them in case of necessity against the blandishments of our local gold-brick vendors. In preparation for your visit we imported from New York, Captain Piper, who for several weeks was engaged in spotting the policemen who were in the habit of holding up saloonkeepers for drinks instead of preventing holdups on their beats, with the result that you can return to your home without broken bones or empty pockets, and feeling that if you have invested in an accident policy you have not paid your money for nothing. We in the same spirit went through our annual street-cleaning just in time for your visit, and left the wind to blow around your clothes only enough of an accumulation of dirty pieces of newspaper and wrapping bags to remind you at least of "Home, Sweet Home." [Laughter.] We were determined to put our best foot forward, and so we deputed our bland and diplomatic friend, Professor Taylor, to coax the man in the Auditorium Tower to hand out his best brand of spring sunshine for your visit, and perhaps you know that we have got a great variety of weather and more of it in this city than any other city of this continent. And so after all this painstaking preparation we are very much pleased to find that you, and particularly Mr. Wilder, appreciate our efforts.

We did not succeed in all we tried to do for you. We sent our friend William Kent to Washington as a special committee to see whether the

post office could not be gotten ready in time for you to inspect it. But we found to our sorrow that reformers of his stripe are not *persona grata* just now with the administration. But if you come here again in about ten or fifteen years we confidently expect to be able to show you the post office building in a state of comparative completion, ready to be pulled down to put up another building to satisfy us.

It has certainly been a pleasure and an inspiration to us to have in our midst for these few days the high-minded, patriotic and enlightened leaders in the cause of municipal reform from all parts of the country who have gathered here for this annual meeting of the National Municipal League. The deliberations cover a wide range, and will, I am sure, when printed, be a valuable contribution to the literature on the means and methods of improving municipal conditions.

The work of the National Municipal League is predicated upon the clear recognition of the existence of great and radical evils, of harmful political tendencies, of widespread corruption and lamentable inefficiency in the administrative parts of the city governments of all our large cities. And still through it all rings the sound of hopefulness, and its every utterance is attuned to the key of optimism. And we in Chicago, when thus reassured, cannot but take new courage in our battle against the forces of evil, and form new resolution to keep up the stubborn fight, feeling that the goal ("the ultimate end," as Mr. Bonaparte would say) will ultimately be reached.

The situation in Chicago is most encouraging. We realize as well as any outsider, even as well as Mr. Wilder can realize, that the administrative part of our city government, though it has improved somewhat steadily and slowly, it is true of late years, leaves very much to be desired. But we realize that there was another situation in Chicago's municipal life more intolerable by far than administrative abuses, and that was the carnival of corruption that disgraced our city council. The name of "Chicago alderman" had become a by-word and reproach throughout the land. Boodling was so open and notorious that at one of the meetings of the city council an alderman in the good old days once publicly in addressing his colleagues, said that no alderman could be expected to be honest on three dollars a week. Chicago Aldermen. Public trust had become an opportunity for public pelf. It would have been impossible to name half a dozen men in the council's membership of seventy who could not be bought by the franchise grabber.

The stock of honesty in our city council in those days was so low as to remind me of a letter that Abraham Lincoln once wrote before he had become President, and while he was still practicing law at Springfield. An eastern friend wrote to him for information about the financial standing and reputation of a certain fellow-townsmen of Mr. Lincoln. His reply was something like this: "Dear Sir—I know Mr. A. B. quite

well. In his home he has a wife and a couple of children who at a low valuation I should consider worth about \$50,000. In his office he has got three chairs worth about one dollar and an old table that could easily be duplicated for a dollar and a half. There is also a rat hole in the corner which will bear looking into." Well, we had probably rat holes in the council chamber in those days, figuratively speaking, and so the Chicago reformers made up their minds to be patient with our bad pavements and our dirty streets and alleys and with the smoke nuisance, and to concentrate our efforts on the reformation of the city council, trusting that in the end an honest council would find ways and means to stop, or at least diminish our administrative abuses, and we have not been disappointed in that regard. The result you know. For six years past we have had a council that is the envy and the admiration of municipal reformers throughout the length and breadth of this land. We have in our council to-day not only honesty, but business capacity and constructive ability of a high order. [Applause.] Formerly in a situation like the present, when the franchises of the principal street-railway companies have expired or are about to expire, a renewal would have been easily and in short order procured by a private bargain between the companies and the gang of boodlers in the council. To-day we have the spectacle—yes, I will say the sublime spectacle—of the members of our city council dealing in the open with these street-railway companies, dickering with them, bargaining with them for fair terms to the city, and representing their constituents just the same as though they were the board of directors of a great private corporation. [Applause.]

While this is a triumph for Chicago, it is more than that; it is a triumph for the principles of representative government. Our success has inspired hope and stimulated the best efforts of good citizens in many other cities. And our good friend **Triumph for** Lincoln Steffens, the man who has taken the "lid off" **Representative** a number of pest holes throughout this country, has **Government.** advertised the agency through which this success has been accomplished so thoroughly that the Municipal Voters' League may, with pride on our part, be referred to as "the League that makes Chicago famous." [Applause.]

Most of you are familiar with the methods of our work. It is an intensely dramatic story. We realized from the beginning that the political machines were devils that we had to fight with fire. And so we did like the Frenchman who lost his wife. A few days after the funeral he met a friend, who expressed his sympathy. Said he, "My poor Gaston, you must bear up under your affliction. You must not take your loss to heart so much. I saw you at the funeral ceremony the other day and it was perfectly pitiful to see your grief." "Ah, bah," said the Frenchman, "that was nothing. You should have seen me at the grave. There I just raised hell." [Laughter.]

Just how we did it need not be told by me. Mr. Steffens has told it

much better than I could possibly do, and any one of you who is not familiar with it is recommended to read, "Chicago, Half Free, and Fighting On" in the October number of *McClure's*. We are fighting on, and if we succeed in the future half as well as we have in the past, I promise you delegates to the conference of the National Municipal League that if you come here in ten or fifteen years, not only will our post office be completed, but we shall have a magnificent lake-front park with the Field Museum and the Crerar Library facing it; we shall have clean streets and alleys; we shall have abated the smoke nuisance; and we shall show you a beautiful new court house, a city hall and a city government which will be a model of honesty and efficiency in every branch. [Applause.]

The meeting then adjourned.

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